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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

No. 85.—VOL. II. LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1842. PRICE 6*d*.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE PRECISE OBJECT OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

LET us, with a view to a somewhat clearer illustration of the maxim laid down in our last number, imagine a case. Let us suppose a government, always alive to the welfare of its subjects, and, in its own view, charged with the onerous responsibility of judging, prescribing, acting, on their behalf—constituting, in fact, the eye, the mind, the heart, of the community—the be-all and the do-all of social existence; let us suppose a government, framing and acting out this conception of its duties, to establish sanatory institutions in every parish of the empire, and to uphold those institutions by compulsory means. Now, the ultimate object here proposed, it is to be borne in mind, is the promotion of public health. The mere existence of a medical establishment—the respectable maintenance, at parochial expense, of a complete medical staff, comprehending physician, surgeon, apothecary, and nurse—the certainty, resulting from state interference, of a competent provision for these valuable functionaries—their accessibility from every spot and to every person in the realm—the uniform and speedy filling up of vacancies, wherever they might occur, occasioned by death—the trusting of nothing in this respect to caprice, nothing to accident, but by well-regulated provision placing medical advice and salutary medicines within reach of every individual in the land, may be a most excellent plan, *if*, by means of it, the ultimate object, namely, public health, was thereby promoted and secured. But, for illustration's sake, let us give a further license to imagination. Let us suppose that the mode adopted to support these institutions, ran clean against the grain of national prejudices—excited a strong distaste, above and beyond what is natural to us all, of every remedial draught, pill, powder, or paste—or induced individual carelessness—or fostered a general spirit of quackery—or diffused throughout society a notion that all physic is a pretence, and all professors of the healing art are impostors—let us suppose, in short, that by failing to consult the habitudes and feelings of the community in the mode of securing the maintenance of these institutions, the very end for which the costly machinery existed, was defeated, and that the health of the people was injured rather than improved by this patent method of attacking bodily disorders—we think the conclusion is tolerably clear, in such case, that it is not enough to point to the steady maintenance of a medical staff within reach of every man in the kingdom, as sufficient evidence of the wisdom of this plan. The main object being the promotion of health, the plan must be judged of by an exclusive reference to that end.

Well! we are engaged in an inquiry respecting the principle upon which religious institutions are to be upheld, and it behoves us to bear in mind that they are but means to an end. It is not sufficient that they exist, nor that they are everywhere within reach, nor that comfortable and befitting subsistence is secured to every clergyman, nor that prayers are read and sermons are preached in every parish. All this may be gained, and yet the object of all this may be frustrated by the very mode of gaining it. These things propose to terminate in some further, some more important point beyond them. They all have in view the accomplishment of a change in the people for whom they are provided. They are but the external mechanism by which man is to be appealed to, in respect of his religious duty and destiny. They constitute the mode in which it is proposed to inform his understanding, to enlist his reason, to lay hold upon his conscience, to awaken his faith, to engage his affections, in regard to the momentous claims of Christianity. They have in hand, not simply to enlighten, but to persuade him. This is, in fact, their only fitting terminus. Stopping short of this, they are mere impertinencies, and very expensive ones, to boot. The institutions exist for this exclusive object, *to persuade*—to gain consent where consent was wanting—to make willing what before was reluctant—to commend somewhat to the affections from which the affections naturally recoil—to make man say "Yes," from his inmost heart, in a matter in which he was previously disposed to say "No."

Bearing in mind, then, that persuasion—the persuasion of creatures endowed with reason, capable of faith, and strongly affected by passion—is the main object of religious institutions, the question is, whether this object may be fairly left out of sight in the mode adopted for their pecuniary support. Must not the principle on which they are maintained run parallel, in some measure at least, with their ultimate aim? Ought it not, in reason and in philosophy, to take this into account? Should there not be an evident harmony between the end of these institutions and the beginning—between the goal to which they are destined and the direction in which they start—between their final appeals to man for his advantage, and their preliminary appeals to him for their own psuport?

Seeing, for example, that you are about to reason with an intelligent being on matters of the highest import, is it quite decent that precisely the instrumentality which you must presently employ to this purpose, should be obtained by setting reason altogether aside? Does it seem a wise thing to do, at starting, to give a bad name to means, in respect of that very end which they are set up to secure? to commence a course which is intended to terminate in persuasion, with acts which leave men no choice, and which deal with them in perfect carelessness whether they are convinced or no—nay! more, which tell them that you can have no manner of faith in their convictions.

The institutions of civil government, as they aim at an object altogether dissimilar, so the mode in which they obtain requisite support, may, without impropriety, differ very widely from that resorted to for the maintenance of Christianity. They do not propose to persuade men, but by external force to restrain them. They step in, as the stronger power, between man and man, and forbid the one to do injury to the other. They seek not to affect the will. They take cognisance only of overt acts. Whether men remain convinced or unconvinced—whether they yield mental consent or withhold it—is a matter of perfect indifference in the eye of civil law. It meddles not with their thoughts, but their deeds. It draws around its subjects a circle of prohibition, and forbids them to step beyond it upon pain of its displeasure—but so long as they keep themselves within that circle, it regards as a matter of small moment whether obedience be willing or reluctant. Here, therefore, the institutions not being charged with the responsibility of winning man's consent to the attainment of their ultimate object, need pay no regard to his nature, in securing their own support. As it is not their business to persuade, so it becomes a question of inconsiderable importance in respect of them, whether the principle upon which they seek to root themselves, shall be found eventually to further or to frustrate the work of persuasion.

But religion makes its appeal to the understanding, to the conscience, to the affections, to the will of man. Its exclusive concern lies with them. It is consequently of supreme importance, that its external instrumentality should be framed and supported on a principle in harmony with this its end. You wish to make a man think well of you, respect you, love you. Granted that, in order to this, it is essentially requisite that you gain his attention; it does not follow that, taking into consideration your ultimate object, you do well to knock him down, even although his attention is certain of being gained thereby. Your first step, if it be a wise one, must be in unison with the last result which you contemplate. Now, if Christianity proposes to attract towards itself universal respect, admiration, and love, must not Christianity provide the means by which she aims to effect this, upon a principle which militates in no way against her own design? Ought she not, in determining the mode of her own support, to reason somewhat after this fashion—"I am about to make an appeal to the understanding of man—does this plan of maintenance, which I propose for myself, address itself to that attribute of human nature; I am about to solicit his heart—does my plan commend itself to his heart."

Now the object we have in view, and to which we shall proceed without further delay, is to show that the voluntary principle is in exquisite harmony with the nature of man, and with the change which Christianity proposes to effect in that nature—that, as an order of means, it is in the strictest keeping with the materials upon which it is designed to work, and with the result into which it seeks to fashion them.

In the Arches court on Saturday, counsel were further heard, as to the admissibility, or otherwise, of the libel of appeals in the Braintree church rate case. The arguments, which were merely repetitions of those urged before Dr Lushington in the Consistory court, having been concluded, Sir H. J. Fust said, he must take time to consider his judgment, as it was too important a case to be disposed of summarily.

A meeting was held on Thursday last, at Hexham, for the purpose of making a church rate. The Rev. W. Airey, perpetual curate, presided; when a rate of three halfpence in the pound was proposed on the part of the churchwardens. James Kirsop, Esq., moved, as an amendment, that the consideration of the question should be adjourned for six months. This the Chairman refused to put to the meeting. The same gentleman then proposed that no rate should be granted; which being seconded by Mr Smith Stobart, the meeting divided; when there appeared a very decided majority against the rate. A poll was demanded by the church party, and readily granted by the Chairman; who last year refused to grant that privilege to the opposition. The rev. gent. urged in excuse for this act of injustice, that he had since taken an opinion, and found that a minority could claim a poll. Accordingly a very spirited poll commenced immediately, and was vigorously sustained on both sides to the end; when at 4 o'clock o'clock on Saturday it closed; the numbers being—for the rate, 349; against it, 322; majority, 27. The meeting on Thursday, which was very numerous, was ably addressed, on behalf of religious liberty, by Rev. John Boyd and Mr Errington Ridley, as well as by the proposer and seconder of the amendment.

At a meeting of the St Pancras vestry, held at the vestry room,

Gordon square, on Wednesday last, the churchwardens, Messrs Houghton and Haslewood, called the attention of the vestry to certain notices, which had been published in the *Gazette* of Tuesday, of an intended application to parliament on the part of the church trustees, of which body they are *ex-officio* members, for a renewal of the powers and provisions of an act of the 56th year of Geo. III., giving power to build parochial churches and chapels; and also to extend the powers of an act passed in the first and second years of Geo. IV., for providing an additional burial-ground for the above parish. Mr Churchwarden Haslewood considered this an attempt to resuscitate church rates, although the application was principally for powers to purchase an additional burial ground. He believed, however, there was a dawn of reason amongst the trustees, and that some of them would sooner resign their trusteeship than be parties to such a proceeding. After some discussion, a committee was appointed to watch and oppose the proposed bills in every stage, and to call upon the church trustees to hand over to the directors of the poor the surplus pew rents. The vestry, after other business, separated.

A meeting was held at the church, in All Saints' parish, Leicester, last week, at which a church rate was refused by a large majority for the fifth time.

The annual meeting of the Newcastle and Gateshead Religious Freedom society, was held on Tuesday se'nnight, in the Nelson street chapel, Newcastle; Mr Greaves, the treasurer, in the chair. Mr James Potts read the report of the committee, which stated that the society's memorial to the Newcastle town council, respectfully remonstrating with that body on the subject of certain grants of money from the Borough fund, opposed to the principles of religious liberty, had been partially successful in its object:—the council had discontinued the grant to the evening lecturer of St Thomas's (episcopal) chapel, and also that to the society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; thereby recognising the principle that the Borough fund ought not to be taxed for the purposes of one especial section of the Christian church, although it was to be regretted that the council had not made the principle of general application. The Rev. R. Banks moved—"That the report be received." The dissenters, he said, were of the quiet and peaceable people of the land—men who, in loyalty and patriotism, were not exceeded by their churchgoing neighbours. This was a fact which had been acknowledged by the legislature, and could not, indeed, be gainsaid. He thankfully admitted that protestant dissenters enjoyed privileges, in the present day, which were denied to their ancestors. But they had still many grievances to complain of, and were bound to agitate, by all moral and scriptural means, until they were abolished. The chief of these grievances, and that which included all the rest, was the anti-scriptural union of church and state. Compared with this, all others were light and trifling; and for its removal every true nonconformist should exert himself, regardless of misrepresentation and obloquy. Mr Windeatt, in seconding the resolution, recommended the *Nonconformist*, the *Christian Examiner*, and the *Voluntary*, to the support of all friends of religious liberty. The Rev. Alexander Reid moved the second resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting desires to express its strong attachment to the principles of religious freedom on which this society is founded—viz., that it is the right of every man to worship God according to his conscience, and that compulsion in matters of religion is at once unjust and unscriptural."

And observed, that although, on the surface of society, the indications might seem unfavourable to the cause of religious freedom, there was a strong under-current running in a direction adverse to state churches. Mr J. F. Grant seconded the motion. The Rev. James Pringle moved the third resolution, viz.:—

"That from the bold advocacy, in the present day, of principles which tend to enthral the human mind, and to render men dependent for the salvation of their souls on an arrogant 'priesthood,' this meeting regards the religious freedom of the country as in no small degree of jeopardy, and feels the necessity of prosecuting the objects of this society with renewed energy."

The times, he said, demanded the strenuous and combined efforts of the friends of civil and religious liberty. It was urged, in reply to the claims of dissenters, that they were permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. This was true: the nonconformists of the present day, thanks to their forefathers and to public opinion, were tolerated in the exercise of public worship. But were they to rest satisfied with "toleration?" The existence of a state-church—a favoured sect—was a standing tyranny, and ought not to be suffered. The privileged sect, instead of becoming more liberal with the age, was asserting claims utterly irreconcileable with Christian freedom. Some of the worst dogmas of the dark ages were now put forth, with a bold and imposing front, as forming the leading articles of the Oxford creed in modern times. Mr Pringle then read several selections from the *Tracts for the Times*, in proof of their near approach to popery. The Rev. G. Bell seconded the motion. The Rev. John Boyd, of Hexham, moved the fourth resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting is fully persuaded that as long as the institutions of the gospel shall continue to be made instruments of state policy, and ministers of the gospel continue to be the salaried agents of the governments of this world, so long will the religious freedom of men be infringed, and the character of Christ's kingdom misrepresented. Under these convictions, this meeting regards the separation of church and state as an object to be steadily and zealously prosecuted by every lover of liberty and religion."

The officers and committee for the ensuing year were appointed, and after a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

On Sunday morning the Temple church, which has been undergoing extensive repairs, was re-opened, and there is one striking feature connected with it that is worthy of notice, as an indication of the tendency of the dominant clergy. Doubtless with the design of saving the expense of future alterations, the edifice has been made after the model of a Roman catholic place of worship. All the great features that distinguish the cathedrals and churches of Roman catholic countries have been faithfully copied; and it needs but the wax tapers, and all the movable paraphernalia peculiar to popery, to restore the church to the same condition, and apply it to the same purposes, to which, some centuries ago, it was devoted. Something more than Puseyism may be discerned in this, and occurrences of a like nature; and our state church, in its haste to conform to the church of Rome, inadvertently lets out that Puseyism is but a disguise for their more rapid progress.

Mother Church's Shepherds.—The Rev. George Chetwode, of Chilton, Bucks, has been entertaining, at his mansion, parties of his friends to shooting on his preserves. A short time since, on one day, upwards of one hundred hares, besides birds, were killed by his reverence and his friends. Mr Chetwode is a pluralist; besides the living of Chilton, the duties of which he attends to himself, he has the valuable one of Ashton-under-Lyne, which is done by deputy. This gent. is one of her Majesty's justices of the peace, and as such at the Ashendon petty session, held in an adjoining parish to Chilton, his rigour towards persons charged with "poaching" is proverbial. A poor wretch could scarcely commit a greater crime towards this "descendant of the apostles," than to pick up one of his (!) hares.—*From a Correspondent.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

ORDINATION OF DISSENTING MINISTERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir—I have read in your paper of Wednesday, the 9th inst., three replies to the article of "M," contained in the previous number of the *Nonconformist*, and I am heartily glad that your pages are open to the free and candid discussion of the question of the ordination of ministers; and I should rejoice if, by this means, we accomplish the object of eliciting scripture evidence on the point.

Now, I apprehend that in this, as in very many other instances, the truth lies between extremes, *i. e.*, between the one view, which constitutes the Christian ministry nothing less than a priesthood (and which would have the effect of unhappily limiting the functions, enjoyments, and efficiency of the churches)—and the other, which would greatly diminish, if not destroy, the distinctive character and influence of the ministry, and would go far to sap the foundations of that enlightened and consolidated state of things to which the ministry is intended to be directly instrumental.

If I mistake not, the questions involved in this discussion are briefly these:—

1. Are any offices relevant to the present point held in the church, and what?

2. Was there, in the primitive days, any such observance as an ordination, and by whom exercised?

3. What is a Christian church to do in the absence of a stated pastor?

Before proceeding to our more immediate object, however, it may help to a more clear view of our subject by stating, that the ministers of Christ in the first days consisted of two distinct branches—the inspired apostles, and their uninspired auxiliaries. This point being distinctly admitted will, I apprehend, prevent confusion of argument, and tend to give precision of meaning to the official terms we may employ.

1. Then, were any offices held in the first days, and what? I apprehend, then, as to the point of relevancy to our present business, there were three offices sustained—pastors, elders, and deacons.

At this stage of our inquiry I must avow my disapproval of the question put by a former correspondent, "Whether an individual sustaining the pastoral relationship is more fully qualified for the discharge of pastoral duties immediately after he has submitted to an ordination service than he was immediately preceding that service?" It reminds me of the question put by a Quaker mistress to her servant, who had just commenced with the church to which she belonged, "Dost thee think thee'rt better for thy eating bread and drinking wine?" In either case the first question to be settled is, "What is the will of the Lord"—afterwards, to discover more fully the benefit of obedience. Precisely the same question might be put touching the baptismal rite (at whatever age administered) with the same result. I reply, therefore, Not more qualified, except in the sense in which all positive institutions qualify.

To resume. Pastors, I judge, were men raised up by the Head of the church mainly for the express purpose of preaching; and that with them were associated elders, in the general oversight of the body at large to which they belonged. But that all elders were not preachers is, I take it, plainly implied by this incidental reference to the apostle Paul (in 1 Tim. v. 17), "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in word and doctrine." Deacons were officers chosen by the church primarily for its secular purposes, though they were by no means confined to serving tables.

2. Was there in the primitive church any ordination, and by whom was it undertaken?

Now, I apprehend there exists at least a partial misapprehension as to what ordination is. We quote instances from scripture, passing those in which, though the Greek word is translated "ordain" in our version, it is yet foreign to our present purpose:—

Titus i. 5. "For this purpose left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest 'ordain elders' in every city."

Hebrews viii. 3. "Every high priest is ordained to offer."

In both these texts the same word is employed in the original.

Acts xiv. 23. "When they had ordained them elders in every city."

In some instances, as 1 Cor. vii. 17.—ix. 14, it simply means to appoint or decide, just as a person might be appointed to a class in the Sabbath school, or a superintendency in a school, or (in the case of a member of the body) to lead the psalmody of the church. But in Acts viii. 18, "Through laying on of the apostle's hand, the Holy Ghost was given;" 1 Tim. iv. 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" 2 Tim.i. 6, "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands;" it is evident that that rite was practised which (how justly it remains to be seen) is the precedent for the rite of ordination, as practised among some nonconformists in our own day. Then, by comparing these texts with the caution, "Lay hands suddenly on no man" (1 Tim. v. 22), combined with the assertion (2 Tim. i. 6), "Neglect not, &c., with the laying on of my hands," and with the narrative, as recorded in Acts vi. 1—8, I arrive at these conclusions:—

That the deacons were installed into office, or rather were recognised, by the laying on of the apostles' hands.

That the elders were all designated to their work by the laying on of hands, either by the apostles or by the pastors, such as Timothy and Titus.

That though pastors were *ex officio* elders, yet that not all who sustained eldership were preachers of the word.

That pastors were ordained, or set apart, or recognised as such, by the laying on of the hands of the apostles and their uninspired coadjutors—"the presbytery."

Now, had the imposition of hands been practised by the inspired apostles only, I should then have been forced to the conclusion, that this power must be limited to themselves. But when, on the contrary, the "presbytery," or elders, were conjoined with them in the observance, I judge that the rite is according to the divine will, and that it is to be perpetuated within the real church of Christ; and I must further avow my present conviction (by which expression is meant, openness to correction if my position be shown to be untenable), that when I read of the apostles "laying on their hands" on deacons, and then, reasoning from analogy, I should say that they were employed in that service as being the present rulers or guides (as, indeed, it will be recollected that that election itself was at their suggestion, fallen in with by the multitude); and when, as it must be conceded (I apprehend) that

the deaconal office was inferior to the eldership; and further, that the apostles (if present) and elders laid their hands on an elder; and when I consider further that the "laying on of hands" was a ritual, about which directions * were given to Timothy and Titus, I judge that it is not improbable that all "elders" and all the deacons were, in the first day, as also the pastors, thus publicly recognised as such. But on this point we will not enlarge.

In this part of our discussion, I cannot forbear remarking, that the arrogant usurpations and ridiculous assumption of some in our own day, on the subject of "apostolical succession," have tended, in no small degree, to burlesque the whole question of ordination, and the topics therewith connected, at least, in the hands of some. But I would remind every one, honestly desirous to come at God's truth, that that state of mind at once unfits for the discovery of truth; and it must be agreed on all sides, how apostate soever any system may appear, yet that where, as in this case, scripture is appealed to, there should be, at least, a feeling of reverence and holy fear, blended with manly independence and acuteness of investigation —the thought that we are handling "the things of God" should be an effectual antidote to our flippancy of mind and levity of spirit.

If, then, we have traversed our ground aright, ministerial and pastoral ordination has foundation in holy scripture. So far, then, we support the opinion expressed by "M.," at least in part.

As, however, it was remarked at the outset of this letter—"truth generally lies between extremes"—now it must be borne in mind, that it is one thing to have a church marshaled and organised even on the principles now maintained, supposing these to be correct, or mainly so; and quite another to maintain, that in the temporary absence, the indisposition, or even the destitution of a pastor, there shall be (I will not say a stoppage of the entire machinery of the church, or anything approaching to it—that were to outrage common sense) a suspension of the ordinances of the church. Now I apprehend that the recognition of an officer chosen by the church, in the fear of the Lord, in the manner referred to, would be regarded as preparing him to temporarily fill such a vacancy as occasionally occurs, probably in every church, with mutual comfort and edification. The expression we have used, "to edification," is, after all, we opine, the best criterion as to the decorum of so supplying an exigency. It is perfectly obvious, that circumstances may arise, for which even the New Testament itself shall be found to contain no specific provision; and to such circumstances, as well as to the general management of the house of God, the inspired injunction applies—"Let everything be done decently and in order."

Here, then, while I believe your correspondent "W." is unprepared to fully carry out his own axiom (or if not his own, that to which I presume he subscribes, as if his own), that "where the scriptures are silent, conjecture cannot be admitted;" I yet feel no difficulty in answering his three questions (though put to "M."), and probably believing, substantially, as he does. Now, I apprehend, that it would be quite "decent" and "in order," that the pastor of a church should administer the ordinance of the Lord's supper; but (as has been intimated) in his absence, it would be but little, if at all, less decent and in order, that an elder or deacon of the church, possessing the confidence and esteem of his brethren, should step in and take the pastor's place. There need be, necessarily, no formal election of a delegate, *pro tem.*, but the holy business of the church should proceed with as much simplicity, spirituality, and devoutness, as on ordinary occasions; since a church would act a part very unworthy of the liberty wherewith Christ maketh his people free, if the absence of their earthly president should cause them to forget their dependence on the great Master of assemblies, and their promised enjoyment of his presence.

If, then, the question be asked, "In whom is the power of ordaining to the pastor's office vested?" I reply, "The presbytery" are, I apprehend, the legitimate parties to such an act. Not for a moment (I need scarcely say) to confer any gift or grace whatever, but simply a recognising him who has already received, by profession, first the endowment of the Lord, and then the call of the church. To such an avowal, the scriptures appear to my own mind decidedly to yield evidence. Praying that that truth, which is adapted at once to delight and to sanctify the Christian heart, may be elicited by means of this discussion, I am, sir, yours respectfully,

A. B. C.

THE PROPER SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT.

Letter IX.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

Sir—"That it is the duty of the state to adopt measures for protecting the health, as well as the property, of its subjects," is the fundamental principle espoused by the Eastern Medical association of Scotland. The majority of the profession hold the same opinion; a respectable portion of the public at large apparently agree with them; and, judging by the enactments that have from time to time been made, the state itself admits the truth of the doctrine. The position is a very plausible one. Some of the arguments urged on its behalf, appear at first sight decisive. And great seem the evils that might result from the exclusion of legislative control, over matters affecting the sanatory state of the nation. The question, therefore, demands a careful consideration.

The advocate of an established church may reasonably support this proposition. He maintains that it is one of the duties of a government to look after the spiritual welfare of the community; that it is improper to allow unauthorised persons to administer to the religious necessities of their fellow-creatures lest they should instil false doctrines; that without legislative supervision, the moral atmosphere of society would gradually become tainted by the various springs of vice that are ever showing themselves; in short, that state superintendence is essential to the spiritual sanity of the nation. Holding these opinions, he may fairly employ similar arguments in reference to the physical condition of the body politic. He may submit, that it is improper to allow unqualified persons to administer to the corporeal necessities of their fellow-creatures, lest they should prescribe deleterious medicines, or give dangerous advice; that, in default of legal regulations, the air of our populous towns would become impure from want of ventilation, or be contaminated by the malaria arising from uncleansed sewers, and other sources of corruption; in a word, that government interference is necessary to the preservation of the public health. The analogy between these arguments is obvious. But how stands the dissenter affected towards them? He denies their cogency in the one case, and he cannot, therefore, constitutionally admit that they are conclusive in the other. In the first instance, the spiritual health of the people is the object in view; in the second, their bodily health; and the reasoning that is employed to show that legislation is not required in the one case, will go far to prove its needlessness in the other.

One would have thought that in these anti-monopoly days, when, by sad experience, men's eyes have been opened to the calamities resulting from selfish legislation, they would take especial care that nothing involving any approach to exclusive privileges, should make its appearance upon the political arena, without a vigorous outcry being raised against it. But the expectation is not realised. The doctrine that it is the duty of the state to legislate for the public health, contains the germ of another gigantic monopoly. Years ago did that germ make its first appearance in the shape of an enactment for restricting the prescribing practice of chemists and druggists. Again is the noxious parasite gathering together its energies to make another and a stronger shoot, under the form of a more stringent law for the same purpose. That object gained, and some greater extension of power will be its aim. Already do the professional publications of the day contain rumours of medical directors, medical inspectors, and various grades of officers, to be appointed as overseers of the public health. Willingly would the aristocracy come forward and lend a helping hand to so promising a project—one that held out so inviting a prospect of more berths for their younger sons; and happy would they be to patronise an institution which should thus serve as another medium for the absorption of the nation's wealth. Thus, if it be allowed, will the system unfold itself, and, for aught we know, might, after the lapse of a few generations, finally saddle itself upon the public, after the manner of a national church.

It is needless, however, to enter into any arguments to show that the medical men are endeavouring to establish a monopoly, for they publicly acknowledge it. They openly avow that they are seeking for protection, and boldly maintain that they have a right to it. But then, it is all done out of a friendly desire to defend the public against quackery! And, in proof of the benefits that the nation is to derive from this exclusive dealing, these patterns of disinterestedness hold forth upon the danger of allowing the illiterate to be gulled by unlicensed practitioners. Hear Mr Wakley speaking of a recently revived law relating to chemists and druggists—he says, "It must have the effect of checking to a vast extent, that frightful evil called counter practice, exercised by unqualified persons, which has so long been a disgrace to the operation of the laws relating to medicine in this country, and which, doubtless, has been attended with a dreadful sacrifice of human life." (*Lancet* for Sept. 11, 1841). And again, "There is not a chemist and druggist in the empire who would refuse to prescribe in his own shop in medical cases, or who would hesitate day by day to prescribe simple remedies for the ailments of infants and children." * * * * * "We had previously considered the evil to be of enormous magnitude, but it is quite clear that we had under-estimated the extent of the danger to which the public are exposed." (*Lancet* for Oct. 16, 1841). One hardly knows how sufficiently to admire the great penetration that has discovered this "evil of enormous magnitude," so completely overlooked by the public at large. Truly, it affords matter for much wonderment, that the "dreadful sacrifice of human life," resulting from this "frightful evil," has never yet opened men's eyes to a sense of the great "danger" of their situation. But would it not have been more prudent, if this general discovery had been published, and the agitation carried forwards by unprofessional persons? Mr Wakley should remember, that we are told to avoid the appearance of evil, and he may rest assured that however truly disinterested his motions may be, the world has so little sympathy with those patriotic feelings, that it will be sure to ascribe the action to some ignoble origin. And why does Mr Wakley stop short of the full extent of his principle? If it is really the duty of the state to take care of the public health, it is surely bound to adopt the most efficient means of fulfilling that duty. Why not then act upon the old adage, that "prevention is better than cure," and endeavour to keep the public always in health? Enact a national dietary—prescribe so many meals per day for each individual—define the kinds and qualities of food; how much animal, and how much vegetable—state the proportion of fluids; when to be taken, and of what kind—specify the amount of exercise; what is to be its character, &c., and so on with all the other particulars necessary to complete a regular synopsis, for the daily guidance of the nation. Surely this would be much more efficient than any of these half measures, and, in principle, would be much about as reasonable. If you insist upon a man getting rid of his ailments according to law, you may as well endeavour to keep him in health by law also.

All legislation of this kind, virtually, rests upon the assumption, that men are not fitted to take care of themselves. It treats them as so many children. It puts the people into leading-strings. Poor things! if we do not look after them, they will be going to ignorant quacks for advice, and, perhaps, get poisoned! Such is practically the language of the state towards its subjects, and the longer they are treated in this manner, the more helpless they will become. If any individual foolishly chooses, for the sake of saving a little money, to employ an uneducated practitioner, he must take the consequences, be what they may. He has acted under the guidance of his own free will, and, if he suffers, he has no one to blame but himself. Suppose a man has a watch that wants repairing, he takes it to a blacksmith, who tells him that he can rectify it—the blacksmith spoils it—the man is angry—complains that he has been ill used—enlists a number of the mawkishly benevolent upon his side, and gets them to petition parliament, that all blacksmiths be in future prevented from repairing watches. Who would not laugh at such foolishness? The man was in fault for putting his watch into such hands, and richly deserved the reward of his stupidity. Yet the case is perfectly parallel to the one before us. Instead of his timepiece, he takes himself (a much more complicated machine) to be repaired —he goes to a man who knows as little about the human frame as a blacksmith does about a watch—the man prescribes—the patient gets no better —by and bye his constitution is permanently injured, and perhaps he becomes an invalid for life—that is, instead of having his watch spoiled, he has been spoiled himself. But what then? The consequence may be more serious in the one case than in the other, but the man has no greater right to complain. If he had exercised his reason, he might have known, that it was as silly to put his body under the care of one who did not understand its mechanism, as to give a chronometer into the hands of a blacksmith; and there is abstractly no more ground for legislative interference to guard against such imprudence in the one instance, than in the other.

A large class of officiously humane people can never see any social evil, but they propose to pass some law for its future prevention. It never strikes them that a misfaulture may be a lesson for mankind—that the world generally learns more by its mistakes than by its successes—and that it is by the continual endeavour to avoid such evils that society is to become wiser. A moment's thought must satisfy us, that many individuals have been injured by druggist's prescriptions, and quack medicines—some temporarily weakened—others permanently debilitated—and a few perhaps killed outright. But even then it does not follow that it is not the wisest in the end to let things take their own course. It may at first sight appear unkind, but when its effects upon future generations are considered, it will be found to be the reverse. Many of the arrangements in the animal creation inflict much suffering and death; but we do not thence infer that the Almighty is unmerciful. When such cases are now deeply investigated, we find that these apparent evils are the collateral results of laws, which ultimately tend to produce the greatest amount of health and happiness, and a careful consideration will satisfy us, that the same principle applies in the case under examination.

There is yet another position in which this question may be considered, and one, perhaps, from whence the clearest and most extended view can be obtained. All legislation which assists the people in their natural wants—which provides a fund for their maintenance in illness and old age—which proposes to educate their children—which takes care of their religious instruction, looks after their bodily health, or in any other way does for them

* "Lay hands suddenly on no man" (1 Timothy iv. 22), I apprehend to intimate, not so much that these youthful bishops, unassisted, laid hands on an elder, but that their sanction and aid should be deliberately given to such a procedure.

what they may be fairly expected to do for themselves, rests upon a radically wrong perception of human existence. It wholly neglects the condition of man's earthly being, and altogether loses sight of one of the great universal laws of creation, which is this:—

All animate creatures stand in a certain relation to the external world in which they live. From the meanest zoophyte up to the most highly organised of the vertebrata, one and all have certain necessary conditions of existence. Each has its varied bodily wants to be satisfied—food to be provided for its proper nourishment—sometimes a habitation to be constructed for shelter from the cold, or for defence against enemies—now arrangements to be made for bringing up a brood of young, nests to be built, little ones to be fed and fostered—then a store of provision to be laid in against winter, and so on, with a variety of other natural desires to be gratified. For the performance of all these operations, every creature has its appropriate organs and instincts—external apparatus and internal faculties; and the health and happiness of every being are bound up with the perfection and activity of these powers. They, in their turn, are dependent upon the position in which the creature is placed. Surround it with circumstances which preclude the necessity for one of its faculties, and that faculty will become gradually impaired. Nature provides nothing in vain. Instincts and organs are only preserved so long as they are required. Place a tribe of animals in a situation where one of their attributes is unnecessary—take away its natural exercise—diminish its activity, and you will gradually destroy its power. One generation after another will the faculty, or instinct, or whatever it may be, become weaker, and a continued degeneracy of the race will inevitably ensue. All this is true of man. He has wants, many and varied—he is provided with moral and intellectual faculties commensurate with the complexity of his relation to the external world—his happiness essentially depends upon the activity of those faculties; and with him, as with all the rest of the creation, that activity is chiefly influenced by the requirements of his condition. The demands made upon his mental powers by his everyday wants—by the endeavour to overcome difficulties or avoid dangers, and by the desire to secure a comfortable provision for the decline of life, are so many natural and salutary incentives to the exercise of those powers. Imperious necessity is the grand stimulus to man's physical and mental endowments, and without it he would sink into a state of hopeless torpidity. Establish a poor law to render his forethought and self-denial unnecessary—enact a system of national education to take the care of his children off his hands—set up a national church to look after his religious wants—make laws for the preservation of his health, that he may have less occasion to look after it himself—do all this, and he may then, to a great extent, dispense with the faculties that the Almighty has given to him. All the most powerful springs of action are destroyed—acuteness of intellect is not wanted—force of moral feeling is never called for—all the higher powers of his mind are deprived of their natural exercise, and a gradual deterioration of character must ensue. Take away the demand for exertion and you will ensure inactivity. Induce inactivity and you will soon have degradation.

The reader will therefore observe—

1. That the dissenter cannot consistently admit that the state should have the care of the bodily health of the people, when he denies that it has anything to do with their spiritual health.

2. That the warmest supporters of this theory of government superintendence, are only making it a blind for another monopoly.

3. That no man has a claim upon the legislature to take that care of his health which he will not take himself.

4. That in this case, as in every other, to do for the people what they are naturally fitted to do for themselves, is to adopt one of the most efficient means of lowering the standard of national character.

HERBERT SPENCER.

THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS OF THE SECRETARY OF THE COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.

'Amicus." The Union has not adopted the people's charter, which contains the words "untainted by crime." The Union proposes that no man should vote who is "deprived of his rights of citizenship, in consequence of a verdict of a jury of his countrymen." This alteration just meets the case proposed by "Amicus." No man ought to be punished after the law is satisfied.

"Mr Charles Clarke" is right in his interpretation of the announcement made by Mr Sturge at the meeting to elect delegates for Birmingham. "That the council had resolved not to nominate any of their number as delegates," applies only to Birmingham. It was thought that, as the council sits at Birmingham, the members resident there had better not allow themselves to be nominated for that place. Other members of the council will probably be returned for different constituencies.

The usual weekly meeting of the Council was held on Monday, a the office of the Union, 36½, Waterloo street, Birmingham.

It was reported that the arrangements for the superintendents of districts would be issued in a few days.

The subject of issuing a weekly reporter was continued.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That the Council, having carefully watched the recent progress of public opinion, are happy to record their conviction that there is a great and growing desire among the working classes to attain their political freedom by moral and peaceable means alone. The Council are persuaded that the manifestation of sympathy and co-operation by the middle classes in this desire, would be the best possible means of confirming and extending right principles of action in the minds of working men; and would most earnestly invite all reformers, especially those of the middle classes, to hold out the hand of conciliation to their poorer brethren—cordially to unite with them in appointing delegates to the conference—calmly to deliberate upon the plans which may be proposed, and thus prove their sincere attachment to the principles of justice and freedom, and strengthen that union by which alone success can be secured; and, in the absence of which jealousies will inevitably be perpetuated, and the restoration of our liberties indefinitely postponed."

We give the following extracts from the correspondence of the week:—

"DEAR SIR—I have visited one or two of our towns (not for the purpose of agitation), and for the most part I meet with great encouragement; in Norwich and even Cambridge there is a strong feeling. I propose, therefore, that Mr Vincent shall go from here to Norwich, and from thence to Cambridge, spending perhaps one day in two other towns, where it is likely they will send delegates (and there only), so that he will be detained in this quarter not more than a fortnight.

"I hope Norwich will send four; and if Mr Vincent can spare a day in Colchester, although just out of my district, there is not a doubt but Mr Hardy, a very efficient man, will be sent.

"On the whole, the prospect in my district begins to be flattering; in a short time I shall obtain more information relative to all the towns, to make a tour for a delegate easy and efficient. The aristocracy are beginning to assume a hostile position—hitherto we have been treated with contempt—this, however, is a sign of our growth. We circulated 3,000 of the addresses in our town, and I am introducing them in other towns; they have told well

"I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully,

"*Ipswich*, *Nov.* 18, 1842. W. FRASER."

"*Snaresbrook*, *Essex*, *Nov.* 18, 1842.

"DEAR SIR—On other side I hand you twenty names of persons who wish to join the complete suffrage movement in this neighbourhood. I hope it is only an earnest of what may be done here, although a very high tory neighbourhood.

"Pray present my best thanks to Mr Sturge for his invaluable exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty. I hope he and his coadjutors will live to see the triumph of their principles, and an end to class legislation.

"Dear sir, yours very truly,

"*To Mr Morgan.* EBEN. CLARKE."

"DEAR SIR—I received the cards sent, and have already disposed of twenty-five. I can assure you, the cause would go on well here, could we but have a little of Mr Henry Vincent's oratorical powers, as there are numbers that would join our movement, could they but hear its principles well explained.

"The rural districts are ripe for agitation; the farmers are calling out strangely about the low price of corn, &c., but (as they invariably do) are beginning at the wrong end; they are beginning to lower the poor labourers' wages, instead of rising as one man, and demanding lower rents, and lower or no tithes; they want to be made to see that, instead of paying half their men off, they had better keep them on and receive labour for their money, as it must be obvious if paid off, they must keep them through the poor rate.

"Rest assured, the time is not far distant when rate payers will see that their money is put to its proper use, rather than suffering the poor and county rate to be allied as one; thus making the poor man pay to support the police and other gentry, although he has no property but what he can protect himself. Dear sir, yours truly in the cause,

"*Woodbridge*, 17*th Nov.*, 1842. JOSEPH FULLER TAYLOR."

"DEAR SIR—This is what is usually called a genteel town, and complete suffrage is not yet deemed a genteel movement. Had we been favoured with another lecture or two from some of you talented friends, we might have shown a much longer list of members, but we believe you have had more important places to attend to. There is no fear of the cause dying here, as we are all fully awake to the absolute necessity of the reforms we seek; but we are only able to go at a slow pace, as we have many great obstacles to surmount.

"Times are very bad in this neighbourhood, and the numbers in our union workhouse are daily on the increase; wages are falling, and work cannot be had, so that we have a fearful prospect for the winter.

"I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

"*Doncaster*, *Nov.* 17, 1842. JOHN HASTIE."

"DEAR SIR—We have now a complete suffrage mayor, and I have the most sanguine expectation of the result; we have abundance of complete suffrage material in this city which, by a visit from Messrs Sturge and Vincent, would be brought out; and I have not the least doubt but our association would then become one of the most flourishing in the country; when Mr Clarke lectured we did not think it prudent to apply for the use of the Town hall, our chief magistrate, at that time, being a complete whig.

"I remain, &c.,

"*Bath*, *Nov.* 14, 1842. SAMUEL SIDWELL."

Letters were also read from Robert Westwell, Accrington; Herbert Spencer, Derby; John Blakemore, Ludlow; George Green, Market Harborough; T. P. Feaston, Tavistock; Samuel Darke, Worcester; F. J. Thompson, Bridgewater; Joseph Graham, Alnwick; Robert C. Webber, Exeter; Charles Clarke, Bath; and Amicus, Cork.

METROPOLITAN PARLIAMENTARY REFORM ASSOCIATION.—On Wednesday evening, an adjourned meeting was holden, of reformers from different parts of the metropolis and its environs, at the rooms of the Metropolitan Parliamentary Reform association, 9, John street, Adelphi, for the purpose of considering the course to be pursued with regard to the Birmingham conference. Mr Duncan was called to the chair. Mr Weston, the secretary, read the reports of the committee, and such as had been confirmed at the previous meeting, the object of which mainly was, that an address be prepared to be presented to the meeting to be adopted. Dr Black read the address as it had been agreed to by the committee, which was as follows:—

"You must be all perfectly sensible that if the reckless government of our oligarchic rulers continues much longer unchecked, the trade, commerce, and liberty of the nation will finally disappear under its baneful influence. Keen want stares us in the face wheresoever we turn, and as they are the fruits of class legislation, it is absurd to suppose that from class legislation we have the slightest prospect of present or future relief; our only resource is in creating a union of action in all the wise and good of all shades of real reformers. And a favourable opportunity now presents itself of bringing about this most desirable result.

"The Complete Suffrage Union have called a conference, to be held at Birmingham on Tuesday, the 27th of December, to consider the course best calculated to advance the suffrage movement; and this meeting, composed of active men from all parts of the metropolis, who belong to the various sections of political reformers, earnestly recommend the propriety of sending delegates to the conference, which, according to the plan proposed, will be four from each parliamentary borough.

"This meeting suggests that, wherever it is practicable, public meetings for sending such delegates should be called by the usual legal means peculiar to each borough.

"They also suggest that a committee in each borough should be immediately formed, to raise at least £20 to defray the expenses of holding the meeting, and of the delegates sent to the conference.

"The objects of this conference are of paramount importance. Every true lover of his country must have seen with pain and regret the divisions and dissensions existing amongst the friends of the popular cause, and consequent inability to cope with a powerful, united, and determined antagonist; and every honest reformer must hail with delight the prospect of a mutual good understanding being created amongst those advocates of the people's rights who may have looked upon each other with suspicion and distrust. All may have been equally sincere, equally enthusiastic, but from the want of sufficient intercourse with each other these divisions and distrusts have unhappily arisen. A better feeling is now, however, springing up; prejudice is vanishing before the light of reason; party spirit is fast losing its fatal charm; and all minor considerations are being sunk, in the endeavour to rescue the operative classes from their enslaved and impoverished condition, which threatens to subvert the whole fabric of society; to restore trade and commerce to our manufacturers and merchants; and to guarantee prosperity to all, by securing to each their political rights.

"This meeting, in conclusion, entreats all real reformers to unite upon this occasion in raising the necessary funds and electing delegates, whose labours it is hoped will be of the greatest national importance."

Mr Bungay moved, and Mr Smith seconded, that the report be adopted with the address. In answer to a question, the Chairman stated that the report was to be printed and circulated before any collection was to be made. Dr Black explained the objects under consideration, and stated that there existed two opinions between the adoption of local arrangement, or whether it would be better to have a general arrangement to secure the provision for the election of delegates. Considerable misunderstanding arose as regarded the adoption of the address before the minutes of the committee had been discussed; and so many spoke that it was deemed expedient to revive a resolution which had been adopted at the previous meeting—namely, that every speaker should, in his address, be limited to five minutes. This arrangement was prudently enforced, seeing that certainly not less than fifty speeches,

but over that number, were made. The number of amendments that were proposed, then withdrawn, or modified and amalgamated, were very numerous; but, after about three hours' discussion, the several amendments that remained to be put from the chair were all negatived, and the address was unanimously adopted.

THE CHARTISTS AND THE BIRMINGHAM CONFERENCE.—In reference to this subject, a correspondent sends us the following information:—"Before the issuing of the last address of the Complete Suffrage Union, altering in some degree the manner of electing delegates, and which alteration, I am sorry to say, was supported by Messrs Sturge and Vincent, though opposed by William Lovett—the National Charter association would have nothing whatever to do with the electing of delegates—I mean the O'Connorite section—but as soon as the second address was issued, giving them the power of packing every meeting, to perfect which power their whole system of organisation is devoted; they at once determined, not only to take a part in the conference, but to fill it with their partisans—the paid agents of the *Star*, and paid members of the National Charter association. Well, to accomplish this object, how have they set to work in the metropolis? The Parliamentary Reform association, formed by Dr Black, has been holding little meetings in different parts of the metropolis, for the purpose, as they say, of creating a better feeling amongst all classes of reformers, one towards another. A very good object, but wanting a wiser man than Dr Black to carry it out. The national charter gentry at once saw that this was the engine to work with. The Parliamentary Reform association is principally a middle-class association, and consequently possesses the means of supporting delegates, which the National Charter folks want. Well, then, says the National Charter association to the Parliamentary Reform association, let us form a committee to superintend the sending of delegates for the whole of the metropolis. The Parliamentary Reform association jumped at the idea, it giving their little association, which I don't believe possesses 200 members, a fictitious importance. Dr Black at once issued circulars to the reformers of the metropolis; but by some very wonderful process, omitted to invite any reformer but those who were either members of the Parliamentary Reform association, or of the National Charter association! Neither W. Lovett, Watson, Hetherington, J. H. Parry, Moore, nor many others, were invited to attend. When Dr Black had been expostulated with upon this, he said, that the clerk who had the directing of the circulars, lost the list on which the above and many other names were. But this excuse is most paltry. This committee, however, met and appointed a temporary committee of twenty, of which ten were members of the National Charter association, eight of the Parliamentary Reform association, and two who may be members of the Parliamentary Reform association, but of that I am not certain. Well, this temporary committee met, thus formed, and decided upon sending twenty-eight delegates to the Birmingham conference. That is, four from each of the seven electoral districts; each locality to support their four delegates; and the meetings for electing them to be simultaneous. Last Wednesday this committee again met; and the national complete suffrage gentry finding that, in adopting the above, they had not taken sufficient care of their own interests, passed a resolution early in the evening—and when, I believe, all their ten were present, and so formed a majority—rescinding the resolution about each locality paying their own delegates, and decided upon forming one general fund for all the twenty-eight delegates! Their object, you perceive, is clear. The only hold which the complete suffragists and moral force chartists had over their proceedings was, that if they did not act fairly in chosing delegates, they would refuse to subscribe towards their support; but with a general fund this could not occur, for there would be a few, though very few, of the moderate chartists elected; and consequently, by refusing to subscribe, one cuts his own nose off to be revenged on his face. The good delegate must go without his support, as well as the bad one. As if this was not enough, I hear that they also did away with the clause respecting simultaneous meetings; upon which some of the members resigned, refusing to have anything more to do with them; and to crown all, four more were added to the committee men, all of whom are members of the National Charter association. Here, then, the matter rests. The National Charter association vows that they will have, at least, three-fourths of the delegates from amongst their own members; and consequently, it behoves every one who does not wish to be ridden roughshod over by this joint committee, to bestir themselves, and oppose their unjust proceedings. I believe the members of the National association, in Holborn, are bestirring themselves, as far as regards Finsbury; and will most probably propose W. Lovett and J. H. Parry, and two members of the Complete Suffrage Union, in opposition to those proposed by the joint committee. Not, however, that they have much chance of success, for having done away with 'simultaneous meetings,' they (the National Charter association) can pack any meeting as they chose; bringing their force from all parts of town."

LEICESTER.—On Thursday last, a lecture on complete suffrage was delivered by the Rev. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton Charter house, in the New hall, Leicester. The admission was by ticket, and the hall was tolerably well filled by a respectable audience, more of the middle classes being present than on any former occasion. The Rev. J. P. Mursell was called to the chair, and introduced the lecturer with a brief eulogium on his character. The Rev. T. Spencer, on his appearance, was received with great applause. He commenced by referring to the peculiarity of his position; he, perhaps, alone, of all the clergy throughout the kingdom, being the only professed advocate of the principles they were met to discuss. He then laid down the duty of ministers of the gospel, with respect to their using their influence on behalf of the oppressed, in a clear and convincing manner. He took a survey of the events that had necessitated a thorough change in our system of government—the failure of the Reform bill—the corruption of the House of Commons—and the utter mockery of attempting to gain any measure of relief from the professed representation of the people.—"Do you wish any alteration in church or state—to see a reduction in the price of food—to see some endowment which is now of no use made available for good purposes? Send up a petition to the House of Commons, and after a while you will find it has done no good. If you get it numerously signed it will have no effect; and if you get one with 2,000,000 of signatures, that will require thirty men to carry it, they will do you the honour to allow it to be carried into the house, and laid on the floor, and you will never hear any more of it." The effects of many of our bad laws were then pointed out, and illustrations adduced of their pernicious character, and the hopelessness of their repeal by the present House of Commons. The lecturer then combated the leading objections to complete suffrage, in an able and humorous manner, adduced the case of America, and concluded by showing the necessity and fitness of the other points—equal electoral districts—the ballot—no property qualification, and annual parliaments, for securing a full, fair, and free representation of the people. A vote of thanks to the reverend gentleman was then proposed and carried with acclamation.

MARKET HARBOROUGH.—The Rev. T. Spencer, M.A., lectured at this place on Wednesday evening, the 16th, in explanation of the objects of complete suffrage. Mr W. G. Barnett, an American manufacturer, presided. Previous to introducing the lecturer, he explained the term class legislation, and quoted the prices of provisions in New York, from the last paper he had received; in illustration of an assertion he made, that the heavy taxation of the poor, indirectly, and the light taxation of the rich of this country, was the consequence, naturally, of the exclusion of the latter from their full share in the representation. Mr Spencer's address, which occupied upwards of two hours in the delivery, was remarkable for plainness and perspicuity, and listened to with great attention. Throughout, his remarks and his arguments received the cheers and plaudits of the crowded audience. No epitome of his course of argumentation can be attempted in the brief space afforded in our columns. He demonstrated the reasonableness of the whole of the six points, in obtaining a "full, free, and fair representation," and failed not to press upon the candid consideration of his hearers the justice of the people's claims, the responsibility of those who assisted to withhold them, the pecuniary sacrifices unjust legislation entailed, and the positive oppression they were guilty of, who, in consequence of bad laws, brought the people to want, misery, and destitution. His appeals to the Christian public were frequent and powerful. We trust that they will have their intended effect, and that the few adherents to complete suffrage in this place may receive great accession of numbers.

KETTERING.—On Thursday, October 20th, the Rev. T. Spencer of Hinton, near Bath, delivered a lecture in the British School room, on the principles and objects of the Complete Suffrage Union; the Rev. W. Robinson in the chair. This lecture was so highly approved, that the services of Mr S. were again obtained on Tuesday, November 15th, on which occasion the chair was occupied by the Rev. J. Jenkinson. The convincing arguments advanced by Mr S., and especially the elevated, moral, and conciliatory tone of his lectures, have materially advanced the complete suffrage movement in Kettering. Mr Philp, of Bath, a chartist lecturer, recently employed in Northamptonshire, walked a dozen miles to hear Mr Spencer's second lecture, and at its close moved a vote of thanks to him. Mr Philp has during the past fortnight delivered three lectures in Kettering, which though given in connexion with the Chartist association were in principle and manner similar to Mr Spencer's. The Complete Suffrage Union and the Chartist association move on in Kettering in perfect harmony; each gradually increasing the number of its members, and steadily establishing their common principles in the opinion of the public.

WORCESTER.—On Thursday evening a meeting was held in this city, for the purpose of forming a Complete Suffrage association. The meeting was confined to those who possessed tickets from the Birmingham association, of whom there were about fifty present, though we believe that there are some twenty more holding tickets of membership. Robert Hardy, Esq., the truly liberal and respected candidate at the late parliamentary election, was in the chair, and was unanimously elected president of the Worcester Complete Suffrage association. Mr H. Southam, the well-known extensive carrier of Worcester and Gloucester, was elected vice-president; Mr Henry Stone, treasurer; and Messrs S. Darke and J. Hawkins, secretaries. These parties, with some others, form the council. The proceedings were most unanimous, and the general opinion is that, even in this ecclesiastical city, many of the middle classes would join the association, if John Collins, William Lovett, or Henry Vincent, would come and publicly explain its principles.

WESTBURY.—Mr E. Clarke, lecturer to the Complete Suffrage Union, gave an address to the friends at Westbury, on complete suffrage, on Wednesday the 8th inst. In consequence of the evening being very wet, and two chapels being open at the time, the attendance was not so numerous as could have been wished, but the company present paid the greatest respect to the lecturer, who riveted the attention by a masterly exposure of the existing abuses of our representative system. He gave a very graphic description of the aristocracy, and of the present constituted House of Commons; and proved to the audience that class legislation was a great evil to this country. He gave a very lucid explanation of the six points advocated by the Complete Suffrage Union. His lecture occupied two hours. At the meeting a letter was read from the Rev. William Leask, of Chapmansdale, expressing his regret that other engagements prevented his being present at Mr Clarke's lecture, and containing some very sound observations on the question of the suffrage in connexion with religion, and the religious public.

IPSWICH.—A special meeting of the members of the Suffrage association of this town was held on Tuesday last. Letters were read from various persons connected with the movement, and one from Mr Vincent, promising to be at Ipswich on Tuesday. A letter was also read from the late mayor in reply to an application by the president for the use of the Town hall for the purpose of electing delegates to the coming conference. The time of his mayoralty expiring the following day, it was not in his power to grant it; at the same time giving his opinion, "that it could not be granted with propriety for such a purpose." The president was requested to make a similar application to the present mayor, who returned the following answer:—

"*Tower Lane, Nov. 16th*, 1842.

"SIR—I cannot grant the use of the Town hall for the purpose stated in your letter to me of this day's date.

"I am, Sir, your's very obediently,

"*Mr W. Fraser.*" GEORGE JOSSELYN."

It was unanimously agreed that Mr Vincent should be invited as a candidate to represent this borough at the conference. Four other persons, tried friends of the cause, were nominated to be balloted for at a special meeting on Friday evening.

LEEDS.—A meeting of the members of the Leeds Complete Suffrage association was held in the room at Albion street, on Monday evening last. Dr Smiles addressed the meeting at some length, and concluded by proposing the following resolution, which was adopted :—

"That this meeting considers it necessary that means be immediately adopted to give effect to the principles of the Complete Suffrage association by disseminating the principles among the electors and non-electors of Leeds, and endeavouring to gain their adherence to the association."

It was then proposed and resolved that the following pledge should be recommended for general signature, by all who are friendly to the cause of complete suffrage in the borough :—

"We, the undersigned, convinced that the complete and just representation of the people in parliament, and the enjoyment by the community of the full benefit of the possession, by all its citizens, of the rights and obligations of freemen, can only be secured by the extension of the suffrage to all men of adult age, of sound mind, and not disqualified by crime—pledge ourselves to carry this principle into practical effect by all the legal, peaceful, and constitutional means in our power, together with such other details as are necessary to a full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament—viz., equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, no property qualification, and payment of members of parliament.

Mr Armistead proposed, and Mr G. M. Bingley seconded, a proposition :—

"That meetings be held in the several wards of the borough, for the purpose of obtaining members to the association, and that the members of the committee be requested to attend and address them ;"

which was also adopted. In the course of the meeting several allusions were made by the various speakers to the recent municipal elections, which were regarded as a triumph of the principles of the association ; and as affording great encouragement to make further efforts for their advancement. The first of the ward meetings will be held in the North-west ward, on Thursday evening next.

NOTTINGHAM.—A requisition, most respectably signed among the inhabitants of Nottingham, has been presented to Thomas Wakefield, Esq., the mayor of the borough, requesting him to call a meeting to elect delegates to the Birmingham conference. The mayor declined to call the meeting, but courteously offered the use of the Town hall for the purpose. The requisitionists have, therefore, convened a meeting this evening for the purpose of appointing four delegates.

EDINBURGH.—A meeting of a number of persons belonging to the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage and Chartist associations was held on Friday night in Johnston's Temperance coffee-house, to consider the preliminary arrangements in regard to the proposed public meeting for sending delegates to the Birmingham conference. John Dunlop, Esq., in the chair. It was moved by Mr Anderson, and seconded by Mr Nisbet, that it is "desirable that the inhabitants of Edinburgh should send four delegates to the above conference, and that these delegates should be paid out of a common fund to be raised for the purpose," which motion was carried with one dissentient voice—the dissent being recorded in regard to the number of delegates proposed to be sent being too many. The meeting adjourned till Thursday evening next. The best feeling towards each other was displayed by all present.

PAISLEY.—The council of the Complete Suffrage association held a meeting on Wednesday evening, in the Trades' hall, Vice-president Mr David M'Nair in the chair. After some routine business it was agreed that the books of enrolment be all called in by Tuesday ; that the council again meet on Thursday evening next; and that a meeting be held of the whole members on Monday, the 28th instant, to take into consideration the question of the appointment of delegates to the conference to be held at Birmingham in December. This meeting will be the first which has been held of the association since its formation.

GENERAL NEWS.

FOREIGN.

CHINA.

An express arrived from Paris on Saturday night, bringing the following important intelligence, received by telegraph from Alexandria, dated Nov. 5 :—

"A treaty of peace has been concluded between the British plenipotentiary and the Chinese government, the principal articles of which are—

"1. China will pay in three years 21,000,000 of dollars.

"2. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, and two others, are open to British commerce.

"3. The island of Hong Kong is ceded for ever to her Britannic Majesty.

"4. The prisoners taken will be restored.

"5. An amnesty shall be proclaimed.

"6. The officers of the two nations shall be treated on a footing of equality.

"7. The islands of Chusan and of Golong-Soo shall be occupied till the tribute shall have been paid."

This news was brought by a steamer sent specially from Bombay.

Since the receipt of the above extraordinary express, the intermediate Overland mail has arrived from Marseilles, confirming the intelligence that a treaty of peace had been concluded with the Chinese Emperor, and bringing the further information that a commercial treaty was about to be signed.

The date of intelligence from the expedition at China, comes down to the 1st of September from Nanking, and the 10th of that month from Hongkong and Macao.

After the taking of Shanghai, the details of which we gave on the arrival of the last Overland mail, the expedition proceeded up the river Yang-tse-Kiang, and after the delay of nearly a week, occasioned by adverse winds, anchored abreast of the city of Chin-kiang-foo. A force of from 1,500 to 3,000 Chinese troops were encamped in the vicinity of the city. They were attacked on the following day by the right brigade under Major General Saltoun, and after firing three or four vollies fled before the approach of the British troops. The city was garrisoned by a body of Tartar troops, who, in spite of the dreadful effects of the British artillery, behaved with great spirit, and disputed every inch of ground. The gates were, however, blown open, the Tartars fled, and the British forces took possession of the city. Of the Chinese forces it is said that 40 mandarins and 1,000 men were killed and wounded. On the side of the British the number of killed and wounded amounted to 169. The expedition having put a strong garrison in Chin-kiang-foo, proceeded up the river to Nanking, about 40 miles distant. On arriving opposite that city, preparations were made for bombarding that part of the city near the river. A large division of the army, under the command of Lord Saltoun, landed to the west of the city, and took up a position on a hill about half a mile distant from the walls. The inhabitants are stated to have declared their unwillingness to allow their houses and property to be destroyed. The garrison, consisting of about 14,000 Tartar and Chinese troops, became terrified. A flag of truce was sent out to the British Plenipotentiary, praying for a cessation of hostilities, which was granted, as Commissioners having full powers from the Emperor were declared to be on their road in order to treat for peace. The assault on Nanking, which was designed for the 13th, was, therefore, postponed.

On the 15th, the High Imperial Commissioners arrived. They were three, viz. :—

1. Kee-Ying, a member of the Imperial family, and Commander-in-Chief of the Tartar troops in Konang-Sung.

2. Elipo, Lieutenant-General of Tchapoo, a former governor of Tshe-Kiang, but degraded last year in consequence of his having liberated the prisoners.

3. Gnu, General-in-Chief of the provinces Keang-Sou and Keang-Si.

They speedily communicated to the British Plenipotentiary their powers, which were found to be in due order. Visits of ceremony then took place, and, after various conferences, the conditions of a treaty of peace were signed, in the presence of the Admiral and General and many other British officers. Copies of those conditions were immediately transmitted to Pekin. When the treaty was signed a royal salute was fired, and all restrictions removed on the intercourse between the expedition and the natives.

Annexed is the circular published by the British Plenipotentiary announcing the treaty of peace.

TO HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS IN CHINA.

Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary. &c., in China, has extreme gratification in announcing to her Majesty's subjects in China, that he has this day concluded and signed, with the Chinese High Commissioners, deputed to negociate with him, a treaty, of which the following are the most important provisions :—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay 21,000,000 of dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpoo, and Shanghai, to be thrown open to British merchants ; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them ; and regular and just tariffs of import and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign manual and seal to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service or intercourse with, or resided under, the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first instalment, 6,000,000 dollars, her Britannic Majesty's forces to retire from Nanking and the Grand canal, and the military posts at Chinhai to be also withdrawn, but the islands of Chusan and Kolangsoo are to be held until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports be completed.

In promulgating this highly satisfactory intelligence, her Majesty's plenipotentiary, &c., purposely refrains from any detailed expression of his own sentiments as to the surpassing skill, energy, devotion, and valour which have distinguished the various grades, from the highest to the lowest of all arms of her Majesty's combined forces, during the contest that has led to these momentous results. The claims which have been thus established will be doubtless acknowledged by the highest authorities. In the meantime her Majesty's plenipotentiary congratulates her Majesty's subjects in China on the occasion of a peace, which he trusts and believes will, in due time, be equally beneficial to the subjects and interests of both England and China.

The payment of the money due by the Chinese is, it is stated, to be effected in the following manner :—Immediate payment, 6,000,000 ; in 1843, 6,000,000 ; in 1844, 5,000,000 ; in 1845, 4,000,000.

INDIA.

CAPTURE OF GHUZNEE AND CABUL.

The intermediate overland mail has brought news from Bombay of the highest importance, up to the 15th of October. The proceedings of General Nott, of which we had but a meagre account by the mail of the 1st of October, appear to have been highly successful. Shumsooden, the Affghan Governor of Ghuznee, having attempted to annoy the British force on its march, was repulsed on the 23rd of August, and totally routed on the 30th. The loss of the British amounted to 36 killed and 68 wounded. On the 5th of Sept., Ghuznee was invested, and preparations were made to attack it on the following day, but during the night the enemy evacuated it. General Nott immediately entered it, and having planted the British flag in the fortress, made his arrangements, and within four or five days the fortifications were destroyed, both of the city and of the citadel. A number of the 27th Bengal N. I. who had been prisoners since March last were released.

General Pollock, who had on the 3rd of September reached Gundamuck, 26 miles to the westward of Jellalabad, left that place on the 7th, and reached Soorkab, a distance of nearly 10 miles. On the 13th, on approaching the Tazeen Pass, about 16,000 Affghans attempted to oppose the British from a position of great strength. That position was soon turned, and they were forced to retire. Again they sought to make resistance from another height, but they were equally unsuccessful. Their loss was considerable; twelve Ghilzie chiefs are said to have fallen, two guns, three standards, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores were taken by the British.

The loss of the latter was 32 killed and 130 wounded. Among the former was Hyder Allee the commander of the Jezailchees, and among the latter, Captains Lushington and Geils, and Lieutenants Norton and Montgomery. On the 14th, General Pollock advanced to Boodkhah ; on the 15th he encamped on the race ground of Cabul, and on the 16th the British colours were planted in the Balla Hissar.

The *Delhi Gazette*, of Oct. 3, states that Mrs Trevor with eight children, Captain and Mrs Anderson with three chlldren, and Captain Troass and Dr Campbell, had come into the British

camp; that Cabul was quiet, and supplies plentiful; that General Pollock had expectations to recover the remainder of the prisoners within eight or ten days, with the exception of Captain Bygrave, who was carried off by Akhbar Khan; and that Sir Richmond Shakespeare, with 700 Kuzzilbashes, had proceeded to Bameean in search of the other prisoners. General Nott had also made his appearance at Cabul on the 10th of September, after having completed the destruction of Ghuznee, and performed his extraordinary march through the enemy's country; and having routed an army, and taken and demolished the renowned capital of the Ghilzees.

The British troops have evacuated Quetta, and retired below the Bolan pass.

In the interior of India, tranquillity and contentment prevails, all dread of scarcity having been removed by the abundant rains of the monsoon.

FRANCE.

The news from Paris is unimportant. The *Journal des Debats*, referring to the formal refusal of France to ratify the treaty of the 20th of December, 1841, states that the representatives of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, assembled at London on the 10th inst., to confer upon the treaty of the 20th of December, 1841, relative to the suppression of the slave-trade. "The French government," says the *Debats*, "having made known its firm resolution not to ratify the treaty, the four plenipotentiaries, after having established the refusal of France, declared, in the name of their respective courts, that they would maintain all the clauses of that treaty, and that they would definitively close the protocol."

A young Orientalist, M. Ch. Ochoa, has been charged by the French government with a scientific mission to the regions of Central Asia, situate to the north-west of Hindostan, between Cashmeer and Kafiristan. M. Ochoa has been instructed to collect documents relative to the history and geography of those countries, to the affinity existing between the different tribes, to their languages and literature, &c.

The *Times* states that the new post-office treaty between France and England had been signed, as well as a treaty for regulating the cod fisheries of the two countries.

The abandonment of the treaty for a customs' union between France and Belgium continued to engage the attention of the entire press; but from the intentions which have leaked out on the part of France, for promoting the union, it seems certain that Belgium will not again entertain it.

From Malta we have a confirmation of the rising of the Arabs against the French in Algiers. It would appear that up to the 31st of October, the loss of the French, in officers alone, amounted to twenty-six.

SPAIN.

The Madrid journals are alive on the subject of a commercial treaty with England. The committee charged with preparing a project of law on cottons, was to have a still more delicate mission to accomplish; for, if we be rightly informed, it was to lay down the basis of a regular treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain. The Spanish government is described as sincerely disposed to carry out the measure. The *Times* Paris correspondent, however, states on "unquestionable authority," that the committee to which the commercial treaty with England had been referred by government, had reported unfavourably.

A serious *emeute* has taken place in Barcelona, which arose from the following circumstance:—In the evening of the 13th instant, 30 workmen of Barcelona attempted forcibly to bring in at one of the gates several casks of wine without paying the tolls. The people joined them; the guard was disarmed, and a soldier killed. Reinforcements having arrived, twelve persons were arrested. The editor of the *Republicano* was thrown into prison. On the 14th the workmen deserted the workhouses, and filled the streets of the city. 10,000 of them form part of the National guard. At five o'clock, p. m., the avenues leading to the Town hall were occupied by the National guards, who refused to surrender their posts to the troops of the line. A regiment was drawn up *en bataille*, on the Rambla, with six pieces of artillery. All the troops of the garrison were under arms.

A letter from a cavalry officer at Barcelona, received on the 18th by express at La Jonquiére, states, that "after a sanguinary engagement, we (the troops of the Queen) have been obliged to evacuate the city (of Barcelona). The inhabitants have possessed themselves of the artillery. We have bivouacked for the last two days at the foot of the ramparts. The Angels' gate was the first that was carried by the National guard. The women were armed with pikes. Detachments of troops of the line still occupy Alderazanus, Montjuich, and the port. We are assured that the insurrection has extended itself to Solsona and Lerida."

By the same express we learn that M. Olozaga has been elected president of the Congress, by a majority of 82 to 41. His competitor, M. Acunda, the former president, was the ministerial candidate. M. Cortina was elected vice-president.

AMERICA.

The British and North American mail steam-ship Britannia, Capt. Hewitt, arrived at Liverpool on Wednesday at noon, bringing New York papers to the 1st, Boston to the 2nd, and Halifax to the 4th instant, being thirteen days later than previously received. The Britannia had a very stormy passage, encountering heavy head winds nearly the whole voyage. The news by this arrival, though extending over twelve days, does not embrace much matter of importance. The citizens of the United States were engaged in electioneering. A large portion of the papers are consequently occupied with reports of electioneering speeches. The elections in the State of Ohio had gone against the whigs. The elections of a governor, local legislature, and 34 representatives for the state of New York, were about to take place; and there appears to be no doubt of the triumph of the democratic party.

The United States government has offered to mediate between Mexico and Texas. Almonte, the Mexican ambassador, has been presented to the President. Files of Galveston papers have been received to the 8th instant. The war appeared to have fairly set in. A dispatch dated Camp Salado, 20th September, mentions that Col. Caldwell, with a force of 350 men, had an engagement with General Woll, in which the Texans came off victorious. The Mexicans left 100 killed on the field of battle, besides 200 wounded. A company of 59 men, called the Fayette volunteers, in attempting to join the camp of Colonel Caldwell, were cut off, and took position in a thicket, from which they defended themselves against an infinitely superior force until completely cut to pieces; thirty-three of the number were found dead on the field, and the remainder supposed to have been made prisoners of war.

The news from Canada, though of no great importance, is satisfactory. The arrangements of Sir Charles Bagot for forming a new ministry have been completed, and the following is the result:—R. B. Sullivan, president of the council: S. B. Harrison, secretary C. W.; J. E. Small, solicitor-general C. W.; D. Daly, secretary, C. E.; L. H. Lafontaine, attorney-general C. E.; T. C. Aylwin, solicitor-general, C. E.; J. H. Dunn, receiver-general; F. Hincks, inspector-general; H. H. Killally, president of the Board of Works; A. N. Morin, commissioner of crown lands. These eleven are all men of ability, and very liberal in their politics. In the house of Assembly, composed of 84 members, it is asserted upon pretty good authority that there are only thirteen decidedly opposed to the ministry, and 11 of them doubtful, thus leaving them 60 firm supporters. Mr Duncombe and Mr Parent will retire from parliament, but their places will doubtless be supplied by Mr E. G. Wakefield and Mr A. N. Morin, of the same politics.

It is generally rumoured that Prince Albert is about to succeed the Duke of Wellington in the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and that his present visit in company with her Majesty is but preliminary to future trips in a somewhat different character.

It is rumoured that the last dispatches sent from the India House, imply strong censure on Lord Ellenborough's late policy in Affghanistan, and that he is, therefore, likely to resign, and return home to defend himself.

The inquiry into the custom-house frauds has been transferred from the authorities of the custom-house to the revenue commissioners, at the Treasury chambers, Whitehall. Lord Granville Somerset arrived in London on Friday night, for the purpose of presiding at the inquiry, which was re-opened at the Treasury chambers yesterday. Late on Friday night summonses were served upon the several witnesses to be examined.—*Dispatch.*

It is contemplated to erect forthwith a line of telegraphs from the Lizard to Falmouth. The desirableness of the object consists in obtaining the very earliest reports of vessels arriving in the Channel from abroad, making the Lizard, invariably as they do, if possible, as a landfall; whilst, with contrary winds, valuable cargoes are detained by ships standing off and on the coast, not able to clear the Lizard on some occasions for several days.—*Times.*

In consequence of the important alterations which railroads have made in the duties of post-office keepers, the Postmaster-general has resolved upon reducing the post-office establishments of a large number of post towns, to subordinate offices to neighbouring large cities and towns, which will have the effect of lessening the duties of the persons employed in those subordinate offices, without diminishing the convenience they afford to the public. This arrangement will ultimately effect a considerable saving in the expense of the post-office department.

The "Lyndhurst Jobs," in the recent judicial appointments, have filled all parties with disgust. Out of fourteen nominations, one only is considered unexceptionable. Not only the entire legal profession, but nearly the whole English public, denounce this abuse of patronage.

Among other alterations and improvements in prison regulations, recommended by the inspectors of prisons, there will be one for an increase in the dietary allowed to prisoners.—*Berkshire Chronicle.*

The indictments against all the chartists who were tried at the late special commissions at Liverpool and Chester, and who then traversed until the next assizes, have been removed into the court of Queen's Bench. In all probability, therefore, neither personal surrender nor appearance by attorney will be requisite; and the renewal of the bail, if necessary at all, will very likely be taken in the country, under an order of the court.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, November 23.

The papers of this morning publish the details of the news received from China and Affghanistan by the overland mail, but contain nothing worthy of especial notice.

No further intelligence had arrived respecting the outbreak in Barcelona.

The *Times* correspondent givesthe following information:—"I have seen letters from Figueiras conveying precisely the information contained in the telegraphic despatches published here on Saturday night, that 'the insurrection commenced on the night of the 13th;'—that 'the insurgents amounted in number to 14,000;'—'that two motives for the revolt were given. The first ascribed it to a determination not to submit to the ballot for the conscription; the second to discontent at the introduction of manufactured cotton goods.' These letters conclude by stating, that the captain of a trading vessel, arrived at Figueiras, reported, that at 10 o'clock on the night of the 15th instant, he being at or off Calella, he heard the report of firing (principally musketry) in the direction of Barcelona.'"

Letters from Madrid, of the 15th instant, had been received at Paris. At the departure of the courier who was the bearer of them, all was quiet and tranquil in that city. A change in the ministry was deemed imminent, but had produced no sensation. The movement in Barcelona is regarded as altogether unconnected with politics.

The Cortes were opened at Madrid on the 14th instant. It was the general belief that the Cortes would not be dissolved, and that the Regent would change the cabinet rather than recur to that measure.

Fears were entertained for the tranquillity of Madrid. Precautionary measures continued to be adopted by the authorities. The posts throughout the city were doubled, and part of the garrison was ordered to remain under arms.

CORN MARKET. Mark Lane, This Day.

The market is flat, but there is no alteration from Monday's prices. About 2,000 quarters of foreign corn have arrived. The supply of English is moderate.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We shall insert in our next number our last batch of correspondence on the ordination of dissenting ministers, and shall then close the discussion with a few editorial remarks. We have received numbers of letters, which we would gladly have published but for want of room. Amongst them we may mention "Liberalis," "Cosmopolite," "Manhood," "R. J. Chard," "J. S. C," "Frank," "An Enquirer."

The report of the Anti-slavery meeting at Birmingham will be inserted next week.

"One of your First Subscribers" asks, "Ought a dissenter, in the discharge of his duties as a town councillor, to vote in the appointment of ministers of the established church." We reply, Yes, if he makes no conscience at all of his principles.

"A Constant Reader" should transmit his queries to the committee, not exhibit them to the public.

"Anonymous" scarcely suits us.

"A Southampton Correspondent" is informed that the public acts of public men can be viewed by us without giving the smallest sanction to their theological opinions. With these the *Nonconformist* professedly abstains from dealing.

"George Miller." We suspect that his is one of the fourteen hundred mistakes committed about three weeks since by the commissioners of the income tax. We are quite unable to advise him how to proceed. The whole business is so complicated that even lawyers can make very little out of it except fees.

ERRATA.—In the paper headed "The Strike," in our last, in paragraph 2, line 1, for "hiring" read "living." Line 43, same paragraph, for "There" read "Here." Paragraph 3, line 6, for "know" read "knows."

Terms for advertising in the *Nonconformist*.

For 8 lines ....5*s.* 0*d.*	For 16 lines...7 0	For 24 lines...9 0
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*** Advertisements from the country should be accompanied by a post office order, or reference for payment in London.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1842.

SUMMARY.

IT is not without feelings of profound satisfaction that we congratulate our readers and the country upon the unexpected termination of the Chinese war, and upon the near prospect of a similar happy result in Affghanistan. Upon the glaring injustice of these wars we have frequently expressed ourselves with freedom and decision; nor must we now permit the glitter of success to blind our eyes to that violation of all moral principle, and, as we believe, that needless waste of human life, by which such success has been brought about. It is possible that good may eventually come out of evil, but no thanks to our rulers if this common providential law should take effect. That which gives us pleasure is the actual establishment of peace, in the first instance, and the probable restoration of it, at no distant date, in the last. The news will probably give a temporary impulse to commercial activity, and do somewhat to dissipate the gloom which recently settled upon the face of our devoted empire. We refer our readers to another column for a detailed account of these events.

The past week, in other respects, has brought us a budget of ordinary contents. The exposure of another glaring instance of aristocratic licentiousness, may now be looked upon as an event in the common course of things; and accordingly the daily papers have given us one, and the *Times* has read noble lords and their kinsmen a pretty severe homily upon decency and virtue. The Anti-corn-law League continues to hold its meetings, and strange enough, the *Times* has begun to report them at considerable length. In Spain we have as usual, a fresh insurrection, financial embarrassments, and a government threatened with danger; whilst in France the press continues to pour forth an incessant stream of anti-Anglican invective. At home, the income-tax is producing loud outcries, and making staunch reformers; whilst Mr O'Connor, with his sub-officials, is engaged in the old work of flinging the apple of discord between the two important sections of the community—the middle class and the working men. Magistrates, under the patronage of our home secretary, are in many places refusing the use of the Town hall for meetings to elect delegates to the Birmingham conference. Farmers are grumbling—manufacturers are at a stand-still—incendiarism shows its hideous face here and there—and all things betoken universal misgovernment and discontent.

In another place will be found the third paper of our Manchester correspondent on the "Strike." We need hardly call the attention of our readers to this able series of articles; but we would beg them to mark how the practices of the oppressor have been in all times identically the same, and how the state-church, maintained at so costly an expense, has invariably allied itself with tyranny, and sanctioned mob violence, when by means of that violence it could work out its own base purposes.

It may not be amiss to notice here, that a pamphlet has been put into our hands, published by Effingham Wilson, entitled, "Our Representative System, its Tendency and Effects, with Practical Suggestions for its Formation on a New Basis." The pamphlet develops an "entirely" new plan of parliamentary reform, embodying in their fullest extent all the principles of complete suffrage. Our first impression of it is one of admiration for its singular simplicity, and remarkable adaptation to fulfil all the purposes of the representative system. We shall give an account of the plan in our next number, and reserve for a future occasion discussion upon its merits. It is evidently the production of an honest, earnest, and practical mind, and we trust, will win adequate attention from all classes interested in the subject on which it treats.

UNPLEASANT SYMPTOMS.

THE result of the election of delegates for Birmingham to the ensuing conference, recorded in our columns last week, took us, we honestly confess, somewhat by surprise. We cannot but admit that, every deduction having been made on the score of the comparative smallness of the meeting, occasioned by the arbitrary conduct of the Town hall authorities, and of local irritation, excited by a fancied slight, put upon an active chartist agitator by Mr Sturge and the council—the rejection of four out of six names nominated by the council of the Union, and the substitution in their room of avowed foes to the complete suffrage movement, wears an ugly appearance. We cannot conceal from ourselves, nor shall we attempt to conceal from our readers, that the same game may be played in many other places. We know the advantages possessed by an unscrupulous and organised minority over undisciplined numbers, however superior in point of real force. We are quite alive to the danger, which, probably, none have foreseen more clearly than Mr Feargus O'Connor and his staff of agitators, of scaring, by means of successful insolence, back into inaction, if not into opposition, all those of the middle class who have but recently given in a timid adherence to the great principle advocated by the Union. We foresee that, here and there, men who would have done battle *for* the unenfranchised, will not do battle *with* them; and that many a heart which would have been content to strive on behalf of just principles, will decline to take any part in a conflict, the issue of which turns only upon persons. Should, therefore, the main object of the Birmingham conference be defeated, although we cannot say we expect such a result, we shall not, after what has already occurred, be overwhelmed with astonishment. Such a calamity need not be, ought not be, will not be, if the avowed friends of complete suffrage are active, prudent, and firm; but looking to all the bearings of the case, it would be childish to blink the conclusion that such a calamity *may* be.

Out of this untoward contingency, several topics arise demanding sober consideration. For the moment, it may be well for us to assume, as most probable, what we believe to be only possible. Let us suppose the worst—for it is always most satisfactory to look the blackest difficulties in the face. Let us suppose that Mr Feargus O'Connor, who professes to distrust the sincerity of this movement, who from its rise has heaped upon its leaders abuse, charged to the very brim with rancorous hate, and who, just in proportion as the middle classes have evinced an inclination to help the working men to their rights, has redoubled his efforts to raise against them popular suspicion, and to stir up popular resentment—let us suppose, that by dint of influence on the one hand, and craft on the other—by the unsparing use of his weekly and daily organs—by the activity of agents, reporters, secretaries of associations, martyrs expectant of pecuniary aid, which can only be obtained by virtue of his *fiat*; and, in a word, of that rather numerous host of patriots who contrive to pick a livelihood out of chartist agitation, and whose subsistence, equally as their importance, would be sensibly affected by the success of their own principles—let us suppose, that now by whining and then by bluster—here by boasting of his unparalleled services, there by flattering the meanest prejudices of his admirers, everywhere and always by recounting in the hearing of *poor* men his pecuniary losses and sacrifices in the people's cause—let us suppose, we say, that Mr O'Connor by these and such like means and appliances should succeed to his heart's content, in returning to the conference a majority of delegates disposed to carry out his spirit and to adopt measures, which so far from tending to conciliate electors, would be animate with the breath of mingled suspicion and insult. These questions naturally offer themselves for solution. What would the unenfranchised gain by his success? How would his temporary triumph affect the great principle of perfect and equal representation? What, in consequence, would be the position and the duty of the honest and earnest advocates of that principle? These inquiries we propose to entertain and discuss.

Alas! for the oppressed and unprotected of our British helots, thrice unhappy is their lot! Truly, the wrongs of the poor political outcasts, even were they wholly deserved, which they are not, might well make every honest and benevolent heart bleed for them. A chain of cruel sequences binds them down to hapless and all but hopeless exclusion from the rights of citizenship. Left of the educated without guidance; looked upon by the wealthy without sympathy; doomed by hard necessity to an isolated position, unfavourable to the cultivation of intelligence, and almost certainly destructive of all kindly feeling—their mistakes, the natural result of this want of wise and prudent leaders, and their passionate resentments, the fruit of being abandoned by the classes above them, are first turned into arguments against them, and eventually lay them bare and exposed to the selfish designs of impostors. It is not the least evil of their depressed condition, not the least painful stripe inflicted upon their nakedness by those above them, that, whilst exiled from the privileges of manhood, any slave, with means and mind somewhat superior to their own, can, by a show of sympathy, and by fanning those passions which oppression never fails to light up, get possession of their hearts and lead them down to deeper ruin, under pretence of conducting them to victory and rest. Wholesale tyranny always gives being to demagogues—and helpless degradation, like physical death, breeds and fattens the loathsome things whose existence, in the one case a position consistent with self-respect, and, in the other, the active energies of life, would render quite impossible. The people are first deserted by those who, if disposed, might have given a wise direction to their energies—and, like sheep without a shepherd, destitute, helpless, exposed to every passing gust of inclemency, they fall into the hands of hirelings; who, knowing no higher motives than selfish aggrandisement, make their very

sense of misery a hook in the nose of the multitude, to lead them into any follies, however pernicious, whereby their own personal objects may be served. The pride, the exclusiveness, and the unsympathising conduct of the middle classes, have been the primary cause of an evil which they now plead in bar of the rightful claims of the unenfranchised. Tyranny in this, as in all other cases, has wrought out its own excuse—has itself created its own pretext—has driven thousands into the arms of O'Connor, and would now punish them with perpetual exclusion from their rights for being there.

While we are disposed, then, to view the conduct of this section of the working classes with pity rather than with blame, and to regard their suicidal policy "more in sorrow than in anger," we should be wanting in our duty to them were we to shrink from exposing that heartless treachery which is striving to mislead them to their own undoing. The time is fully come for holding up their idol to the steady view of their own plain and strong common sense—for dragging him forth from the dim light of his own sanctuary, from midst his own professions and self-laudations, and exhibiting the man in his own colours and dress. We shall not imitate him in the use of scurrilous epithets—nor mouth, in the tone of ridiculous grandiloquence, the language of buffoonery and insult. These weapons we leave to him whom they best beseem. But we ask the attention of working men to a few facts, calmly stated, and thereupon we cheerfully commend them to their own sober conclusions.

It can hardly be forgotten by the labouring classes, that the principles embodied in the people's charter, were enounced long since, by middle-class patriots; and that, actuated by whatever motive, several leading men, now figuring in public life, assisted in the production of that celebrated document. Noiselessly, but not unsuccessfully, these principles were making their appeal to the judgment of society, when Mr Feargus O'Connor appeared upon the stage. Let us do him justice. He brought to the cause indomitable energy, considerable skill, unwearied activity—and, in an ill-fated day, the doctrine of physical force. He organised what he found unshapen and incoherent—he created a machinery which was powerful both for good and evil—and he employed it for the latter. By bitter denunciations, by fomenting the worst passions of human nature, by dogmatism the most intolerable, and insolence which no spirit having a spark of manhood could brook, he drove from the people's ranks every middle-class leader, seemingly unable to rest until the stage was left clear for himself alone. The fruits of his violence speedily ripened—myriads of working men were goaded into open conflict with the government—and the man who had laid the train, and kindled the match, slunk away to Ireland beyond reach of danger. Thoroughly defeated in this his first scheme of policy, he returned to begin anew his pernicious course. As though secret conspiracy, incendiarism, and bloodshed, were not enough to destroy any vestiges of sympathy which the middle classes might feel for the working men, he counseled annoyance in a scarcely less offensive shape, and harked on his followers to a disturbance of every public meeting, and denounced as "humbug" every effort for administrative reform. He succeeded but too well in gaining the only end which will fairly account for his proceedings. He rendered the breach between the two classes all but irreparable. By associating with the principles of the charter his own ferocity, he made them stink in the nostrils of respectable men, and then, availing himself of the disgust his own work had excited, he turned to the labouring classes, and stimulated, by producing before them the evidences of this disgust, their already hot resentment against all above them. He was now without a rival in the leadership of the masses; and as, one by one, men of cooler heads, of sterner integrity, of more disinterested hearts, rose into estimation with the unenfranchised, he denounced them with virulence the most incessant, and affixed to them the badge of infamy.

This hostility between the two classes, brought about and kept up mainly by O'Connor's influence, whilst it served to fix him upon the pinnacle of isolated leadership, and to put money into his pocket by securing for the *Northern Star* the same undisputed priority amongst working men which he had obtained for himself, rendered all prospects of obtaining legislative redress absolutely hopeless. The electors, consisting for the most part of the middle class, had been made to identify chartist principles with wickedness and anarchy. But, without their aid, how could the unenfranchised gain emancipation? They had tried force, and failed—they had resorted to annoyance, and only riveted more closely the chains which they wore. Matters were in this state about the autumn of last year. The masses were cherishing rooted dislike to those who alone could effectually help them—and the great body of electors were alarmed at the very name of the charter. At that moment, this journal, then in the feebleness of infancy, and circulating exclusively among the middle ranks of society, came forward to attempt the work of reconciliation. It took up those much despised but noble principles, upon which the working men had set their hearts, disentangled them from rubbish, exhibited them to common sense in their own lustre, set them in a frame, not of temporary expediency, but of Christian right. Simultaneously, Joseph Sturge—a man against whose sincerity calumny had never urged an objection, whose philanthropy millions had already learned to bless, whose firmness to his principles had exposed him to the charge of being impracticable—came forward to devote his time, his labours, his influence, his fortune, to commend to the electoral bodies the objects of the working men. Placing the political truths of the charter in the car of peace, temperance, and Christian benevolence, he drove in triumph into quarters whence those truths had heretofore been repelled with indignity, and gained for them an attention and a consideration which promised, and still promises, a rapid and brilliant triumph.

What now is the course of Mr O'Connor and his myrmidons? Just of a piece with the rest of his career—a course easily enough explained if his objects be personal and selfish, but thoroughly inexplicable if he sincerely seeks the enfranchisement of the people. He has racked his invention to find the vilest motives to which to ascribe this hopeful movement among the middle classes. He has flung at Mr Sturge and his associates the foulest of his foul abuse. With the fickleness of a man whose guiding principle is selfish ambition, he first denounces the whole scheme as "humbug"—then, when to have maintained any longer that position would have endangered his own supremacy, he recants the mistake, and thrusts upon Mr Sturge his seeming patronage—and now, that some appearances indicate that what was Mr O'Connor's plaything may become a national object of pursuit, and call up upon the scene, and forward into action, nobler spirits than his own—now, that he can no longer divide the classes upon principles—he is aiming to get up a contention between them about names and petty details; resolved to play his last card to prevent a reconciliation, which would extinguish his exclusive influence with the working men. But we must pause. We have already exceeded our just limits. But we are most anxious to spare the industrious classes the pain of another suicidal delusion—and to show them that, by defeating the object for which a national conference has been summoned, they will sacrifice the principles of the charter, and throw away another chance of realising their own freedom—and they will gain in the place of them Feargus O'Connor's blessing—who will feed them with the wind of his own praise, and feed himself with something more substantial. We shall return to the subject.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Following Mr Chadwick's arrangement of his sanatory report, which we specified at length in our former article, we come to the important statement with which the report opens—the number and causes of deaths in England and Wales during the years 1838 and 1839:—

"The registered mortality from all specified diseases in England and Wales was, during the year 1838, 282,940, or 18 per thousand of the population. These deaths are exclusive of the deaths from old age, which amounted to 35,564, and the deaths from violence, which amounted to 12,055. The deaths from causes not specified were 11,970. The total amount of deaths was 342,529 for that year. In the year following the total deaths were 338,979, of which the registered deaths from old age were 35,063, and the deaths from violence 11,980. The proportion of deaths for the whole population was 21 per thousand."—p. 3.

The proportion of these deaths arising from endemic, epidemic, and contagious diseases, that is, from diseases within the control of sanatory regulations, is thus illustrated:—

"A conception may be formed of the aggregate effects of the several causes of mortality from the fact, that of the deaths caused during one year in England and Wales by epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases, including fever, typhus, and scarlatina, amounting to 56,461, the great proportion of which are proved to be preventible, it may be said that the effect is as if the whole county of Westmoreland, now containing 56,469 souls, or the whole county of Huntingdonshire, or any other equivalent district, were entirely depopulated annually, and were only occupied again by the growth of a new and feeble population living under the fears of a similar visitation. The annual slaughter in England and Wales from preventible causes of typhus, which attacks persons in the vigour of life, appears to be double the amount of what was suffered by the allied armies in the battle of Waterloo."—p. 3.

Here, then, in the startling facts communicated, we have a general idea of the extent of the ravages made by disease in England and Wales; which disease, so to speak, is actually created by man's carelessness, and neglect of fitting precautions. And, although there are no adequate data for a return of the proportion in which deaths occur from various causes amongst the population of Scotland, yet a subsequent portion of the report affords proof that the mortality from fever "is greater in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, than in the most crowded towns in England."

The first of the eight leading divisions of the report, is the general condition of the residences of the labouring classes, where disease is found to be most prevalent; and we proceed in our inquiry, covering almost the whole of the kingdom, from the west of England to the heart of Scotland—from Truro to Gateshead, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.

Dr Barham, in reference to the accumulation of decomposing organic matter, near the residences of the town population of Truro, says—

"'A detailed account of the public sewers is given in the appendix, and is believed to be nearly, if not quite, complete. Many of these are of recent date, and owe their existence to the alarm excited when the cholera was near at hand. Some of them are made to discharge themselves into the rivers; and such of these as are swept by a stream of water are unobjectionable in themselves. Several others stop short of this desirable termination, and, after collecting filth from various localities, deposit a portion in catchpits here and there, and finally open on the surface, frequently in some street or lane, where a neglected deposit of a mixed animal and vegetable nature is allowed to become a probable source of annoyance or mischief.'"—pp. 6, 7.

And Mr John Fox, medical officer of the Cerne union, in Dorsetshire, remarks upon some causes of disease among the poor whom he had attended:—

"'These cases (of diarrhœa and common fever) occurred in a house (formerly a poor house) occupied by nearly 50 persons on the ground-floor; the rooms are neither boarded nor paved, and generally damp; some of them are occupied by two families. The up-stairs rooms are small and low, and separated from each other by boards only. Eleven persons slept in one room. The house stands in a valley between two hills, very little above the level of the river, which occasionally overflows its banks, and within a few yards of it. There is generally an accumulation of filth of every description in a gutter running about two feet from its front, and a large cesspool within a few feet behind. The winter stock of potatoes was kept in some of the day-rooms, and generally put away in a wet state. The premises had not been white-limed during three years; in addition to this state of things, the poor were badly fed, badly clothed, and many of them habitually dirty, and consequently typhus, synochus, or diarrhœa, constantly prevailed.'"—p. 8.

The following account of the cottages of this neighbourhood (if, indeed, hovels would not be a more applicable term), and the melancholy accident resulting directly from their wretched construction, is of painful interest:—

"'Most of the cottages being of the worst description, some mere mud hovels, and situated in low and damp places with cesspools or accumulations of filth close to the doors. The mud floors of many are much below the level of the road, and in wet seasons are little better than so much clay. The following shocking case occurred in my practice. In a family consisting of six persons, two had fever; the mud floor of their cottage was at least one foot below the lane; it consisted of one small room only, in the centre of which stood a foot ladder, reaching to the edge of a platform which extended over nearly one-half of the room, and upon which were placed two beds, with space between them for one person only to stand, whilst the outside of each touched the thatch. The head of one of these beds stood within six inches of the edge of the platform, and in this bed one of my unfortunate patients, a boy about 11 years old, was sleeping with his mother, and in a fit of delirium jumped over the head of his bed and fell to the ground below, a height of about seven feet. The injury to the head and spine was so serious that he lived a few hours only after the accident. In a cottage fit for the residence of a human being this could not have occurred.'"—pp. 8, 9.

In Somersetshire and Wiltshire, in the agricultural population of Bedford, Northampton, and Warwick, we encounter similar scenes; but we were scarcely prepared for the following enormities existing under the very senses of royalty. Mr Parker, in his report on the condition of the Berkshire district, says—

"Of all the towns visited by me, Windsor is the worst beyond all comparison. From the gas works at the end of George street a double line of open, deep, black, and stagnant ditches extends to Clewer lane. From these ditches an intolerable stench is perpetually rising, and produces fever of a severe character. I visited a cottage in Clewer lane in which typhus fever had existed for some time, and learnt from a woman who had recently lost a child the complaint was attributable to the state of these ditches. Mr Bailey, the relieving officer, informs me that cases of typhus fever are frequent in the neighbourhood; and observes that there are now seven or eight persons attacked by typhus in Charles street and South place. He considers the neighbourhood of Garden court in almost the same condition. 'There is a drain,' he says, 'running from the barracks into the Thames across the Long Walk. That drain is almost as offensive as the black ditches extending to Clewer lane. The openings to the sewers in Windsor are exceedingly offensive in hot weather. The town is not well supplied with water, and the drainage is very defective.'"—pp. 13, 14.

The manufacturing towns, we might conclude *a priori*, from their crowded state, would present worse instances of the evils disclosed in this report, than agricultural districts; and to some extent this is the case—although the quotations we have already made are sufficient to show what sort of protection is afforded to our peasantry by their "natural protectors"—the landlords and squirearchy—and of how little, in the way of physical purity, the rural districts of England have to boast. Passing the mining district of Bilston, which suffered fearfully by the cholera in 1832, but which since seems to have been more free from contagious and epidemic diseases, we are arrested by the following striking details relating to the town of Stockport. Mr William Rayner, one of the medical officers of the Stockport union is the reporter:—

"'The localities in which fever mostly prevails in my district, are Shepherd's buildings and Back Water street, both in the township of Heaton Norris. Shepherd's buildings consists of two rows of houses, with a street seven yards wide between them; each row consists of what are styled back and front houses—that is two houses placed back to back. There are no yards or out-conveniences; the privies are in the centre of each row, about a yard wide; over them there is part of a sleeping room; there is no ventilation in the bed rooms; each house contains two rooms—viz., a house place and sleeping room above; each room is about three yards wide and four long. In one of these houses there are nine persons belonging to one family, and the mother on the eve of her confinement. There are 44 houses in the two rows, and 22 cellars, all of the same size. The cellars are let off as separate dwellings; these are dark, damp, and very low, not more than six feet between the ceiling and floor. The street between the two rows is seven yards wide, in the centre of which is the common gutter, or more properly sink, into which all sorts of refuse is thrown; it is a foot in depth. Thus there is always a quantity of putrefying matter contaminating the air. At the end of the rows is a pool of water very shallow and stagnant, and a few yards further, a part of the town's gas works. In many of these dwellings there are four persons in one bed.'"—pp. 17, 18.

Here again is the experience of another medical man in Liverpool:—

"'In the year 1836-7, I attended a family of 13, twelve of whom had typhus fever, without a bed in the cellar, without straw or timber-shavings—frequent substitutes. They lay on the floor, and so crowded, that I could scarcely pass between them. In another house I attended 14 patients; there were only two beds in the house. All the patients, as lodgers, lay on the boards, and during their illness never had their clothes off. I met with many cases in similar conditions; yet amidst the greatest destitution and want of domestic comfort, I have never heard, during the course of twelve years' practice, a complaint of inconvenient accommodation.'"—p. 19.

We intended not to have wearied our readers with more extracts upon this subject, the main features of all being very similar; but the tract of filth, wretchedness, disease, and degradation, described in the following extract from Dr Arnott's report upon the condition of Glasgow, and discovered by him in company with Mr Chadwick, Dr Alison, and the late Dr Cowan (whose labours to ameliorate the condition of the Glasgow poor were so meritorious), is too remarkable to be omitted:—

"'We entered a dirty low passage like a house door, which led from the street through the first house to a square court immediately behind, which court, with the exception of a narrow path around it leading to another long passage through a second house, was occupied entirely as a dung receptacle of the most disgusting kind. Beyond this court the second passage led to a second square court, occupied in the same way by its dunghill; and from this court there was yet a third passage leading to a third court, and dungheap. There were no privies or drains there, and the dungheaps received all the filth which the swarm of wretched inhabitants could give, and we learned that a considerable part of the rent of the houses were paid by the produce of the dungheaps. Thus, worse off than wild animals, many of which withdraw to a distance and conceal their ordure, the dwellers in these courts had converted their shame into a kind of money by which their lodging was to be paid. The interiors of these houses and their inmates corresponded with the exteriors. We saw half-dressed wretches crowding together to be warm; and in one bed, although in the middle of the day, several women were imprisoned under a blanket, because as many others who had on their backs all the articles of dress that belonged to the party were then out of doors in the streets. This picture is so shocking that, without ocular proof, one would be disposed to doubt the possibility of the facts; and yet there is perhaps no old town in Europe that does not furnish parallel examples. London, before the great fire of 1666, had few drains, and had many such scenes; and the consequence was, a pestilence occurring at intervals of about twelve years, each destroying at an average about a fourth of the inhabitants.'"—p. 23.

Dr Arnott is right in saying that other old towns of Europe would furnish a parallel even to this disgusting locality of Glasgow. Edinburgh does, to our own knowledge, and some of the worst parts of the French metropolis are scarcely superior.

THE STRIKE.

ITS HISTORY, CAUSES, AND CONSEQUENCES.

(From a Manchester Correspondent.)

[We do not hold ourselves responsible for the opinions contained in these papers.]

III.

Sketch of the Progress of Democratic Opinion in the Manufacturing Districts—Constitutional Reformation, and Patriotic Societies—Trial of Walker—Flight of Cooper—Falkner and Birch—Breaking up of the Associations.

The expressions of popular opinion amongst the labouring classes in these districts were confined, up to the period of the French revolution, to occasional riots, mobbings, and peltings of obnoxious individuals. Public opinion? Alas! the almost universal ignorance beclouded the minds of the people with prejudices, which ran, now in favour of bigotry, now in favour of liberty—and were blown about by accident and chance. During the first years of their progression, the cares of business engrossed the attention of the more educated, and though there existed many men whose souls yearned after liberty, still the manufacturing districts, up to the year 1790, present few signs of the presence of a vital love of democracy.

The Yorkshire association for a Reform in Parliament existed in 1780, but the growing manufactures had little, if any, hand in its formation. The elections were occasionally conducted with spirit, and now and then the contest of party was severe; but the contests were those of rival landed partisans, and therefore genuine popular feeling could never be enlisted by them. In a few of the boroughs—Preston for instance, the franchise was liberal. In Preston, which seems to have escaped the *quo warranto* inquisition of the time of James II., every man "sending up a smoke," or every householder, was entitled to vote. There, now and then, a good feeling was shown—but in too many cases the beer barrel and the bribe overcame the virtue of the constituency.

Manchester, the centre of the cotton manufacture, and also, for a long period, of the woolen manufacture too—may be taken as a fair sample of the district, and the history of opinion and action in it, may well serve for a chronicle of the general progress.

In 1789, discussions on the Test and Corporation acts occupied the attention of parliament. The dissenters throughout the kingdom petitioned vigorously for the repeal of those obnoxious statutes. On a former occasion, having been defeated in the House by a majority of only 20 votes, it was hoped that the apparently growing liberality in religious matters would have secured the object for which the dissenters struggled. Suddenly, however, the clergy raised the cry so often roared out since, of the "church in danger." The church people got up counter-petitions, held meetings, and got the motion rejected. Immediately sprang into life the "Church and King clubs." On the 13th of March, 1790, the body which had been most active in opposing the demands of the dissenters, met together amidst the most ridiculous solemnities, and formed themselves into the "Church and King club." Their 6th article sets forth—"That the Corporation and Test acts give strength and permanency to our excellent constitution, and ought to be transmitted unimpaired to the latest posterity!" The members of this club wore a uniform, and had a representation of the old church at Manchester engraved upon their buttons. Their standing toasts at all times, were, "Church and king, and down with the Rump,"—and "The land we live in—those who do not like it, d——n them, let them leave it." This latter was usually drunk at the close of the orgies, when the wine had quite succeeded in expelling the little common sense which existed amongst the "loyal and religious" defenders of the constitution in church and state.

A few months after the formation of this association, a number of merchants and manufacturers, together with some few members of the learned professions, met together, and agreed to form a society of a very different character. They met together monthly, under the title of "The Manchester Constitutional society." The objects of this society may be gathered from the following extracts from the resolutions as agreed upon on the 6th October, 1790:—

"1. That in every civil community, the legitimate authority of the governors can only be derived from the consent of the governed."

"6. That no law or statute can be fairly made, which is not enacted by and with the consent of a majority of the people, given either expressly by themselves or by means of a full, fair, and adequate representation."

"7. That the people of Great Britain are not fully, fairly, and adequately represented in parliament, and that the defective state of the representation of this country, and the extended duration of parliaments, require a speedy and effectual reform, and are objects to which the attention of this society ought to be particularly directed."

Amongst the members of the Constitutional society, were Richard Walker; James Watt jun.; Thomas Cooper, who afterwards attained high celebrity as a writer in the United States to which he emigrated; George Philips, and others of equal talent and local celebrity. The high church party spared neither abuse nor falsehood in endeavouring to bring these men—denounced as republicans and levelers, into public disrepute. On the 14th July, 1791, the society dined together at the Bridgewater Arms, in commemoration of the French revolution. On the morning of the day, a hand-bill was profusely distributed by the "church and king" men, amongst the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford. It contained, amongst others, this sentence—

"If Englishmen had the spirit they used to have, they would on this 14th of July, pull the house they (the Constitutional society) assembled at over their heads; and the brains of every man who dined there would be much improved by being mingled with brick and mortar."

Thanks to the good sense of the people, this infamous address did not produce the effect intended, and Manchester was spared the dis-

grace of witnessing riots and tumult, similar to those which on this very day occurred at Birmingham. Disappointed in raising the popular fury against the friends of liberty, their restless opponents resorted to a new expedient. They induced the two newspaper proprietors, Harrop and Wheeler, to refuse all communications on the side of liberty! To counteract the evils likely to accrue from having both the newspapers hermetically sealed against them, the little band of patriots induced one of their number, Mr Falkner, to commence a newspaper, which was called the Manchester Herald, and which appeared as the devoted advocate of political liberty and equality.

Mr Cooper and Mr James Watt, jun., having, on the part of the Manchester Constitutional society, presented an address to the society of Jacobins, at Paris, the address and the reply to it were published. Their publication drew forth, on the 30th April, 1792, a most virulent invective from Mr Burke, in his place in the house of Commons. To this Mr Cooper replied in a work entitled "Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective," a work which deservedly attracted the marked attention of the public.

As the society was now brought prominently before the general attention, and as in consequence the parsons, and their co-workers the church and king men, were more industrious than ever in spreading calumnies against it—representing its objects to be the distribution of property, the annihilation of religion, the establishing of a republic, &c., &c.—the members met and issued an address to the public. From this admirable document we take the following extracts:—

"The political axioms in which individually and collectively we agree, are—

"That the power vested in every government is derived from the people—that the persons who exercise it are ultimately responsible to them—and that the happiness of the people should be the sole end of every government.

"We disclaim any intention of endeavouring to overthrow the British constitution. Our aim is to restore the constitution to its original purity, by removing the corruptions and abuses that deform it, and which render its practice at perpetual variance with its applauded theory. We are particularly anxious that the House of Commons should be in reality, what it is in name and pretension, the representative body of the commons of Great Britain; and that the members of that House should owe their seats to the good opinion and free suffrage of the people at large, and not to the prostituted votes of venal and corrupt boroughs. * * * * It is a matter of notoriety that 254 members of the House of Commons are elected by less than six thousand persons, and that a great number of the boroughs which return these members are at the disposal of the peerage, or under other unconstitutional influence. * * * * The duration of parliaments, so unconstitutionally extended to seven years, ought to be contracted, in order that the exercise of the right of appointing their representatives may more frequently revert to the people, and that the members of the house of Commons, knowing that the renewal of their trust must depend on an honest discharge of it, may feel it their interest, as well as their duty, to do the business of their constituents with fidelity. * * * * As the present tumultuary mode of electing the members of the House of Commons is disgraceful to a well-regulated society, and fatal in its consequences to the morals, and sometimes even to the lives of our fellow-citizens, we conceive it highly necessary that this defect should be remedied, and that a peaceable, and at the same time an effectual, plan should be established for collecting the sense of the public on such occasions. * * * * The necessity of an equal representation of the people in parliament, is admitted by the enlightened and good of every denomination; and as this is the great object of our association, we call upon our fellow-citizens to co-operate with us in the prosecution of our design, which may truly be called the cause of the people."

This address was signed "Thomas Walker, president. Sam. Jackson, secretary."

A week after its publication, a government proclamation against "seditious writings, publications, and correspondences," appeared. Two days after this appeared, the "Manchester Patriotic society" was formed. Its objects were parliamentary reform, full and equal representation, &c. Its address declares that governments were instituted to protect, and not to annihilate the rights of man. Twelve days later, on the 6th June, 1792, the "Reformation society" was established. Its objects were identical with those of the Patriotic society. On the 4th June, a meeting was held to address the King on the late proclamation. The Constitutional society issued an address, commenting upon the proclamation, and advising the friends of liberty to stay away from a meeting obviously called in order to excite a breach of the peace. In the evening of the day of meeting (his Majesty's birthday), a mob assembled, pulled up some trees in St Ann's square, and with them burst in the doors of the dissenters' chapels.

The Church and King clubs voted addresses of thanks for the royal proclamation. The high church party throughout the country aided in and fostered the meetings, addresses, &c., got up in support of "our glorious constitution in church and state;" and hatred of the "Jacobins" became a public virtue in the jaundiced eyes of the supporters of tyranny and intolerance.

The Manchester section of bigots sent "duly authorised persons" round to the publichouse-keepers under whose roofs the three Reform societies met, to inform them that their licences were in danger. Influence was brought to bear upon all the publicans. Preferring their licences to principles of liberty, the Manchester Bonifaces unanimously resolved to allow no societies, whose efforts were directed towards changing the laws or the constitution, to meet in their houses! Nay, the knights of the spigot outshone their more respectable comperts in the show of intolerance. They issued an address, denouncing the reformers as "miscreants," and "infernals,"—calling the French "savages"—and pot-valiantly offering "to co-operate with their fellow-townsmen in bringing to justice (!) all those who should offend in any instance, against our much admired and most excellent constitution." This precious document boasted of the signatures of 186 innkeepers and alehouse-keepers.

The three societies, now consisting of men of all ranks, of workmen and masters, and of professional men, being unable to procure a place of meeting, were offered by Mr Walker the use of two rooms in his town house. There they met together every Monday night for some time. At the meetings, newspapers and letters, as well as different political works, were read, and occasionally addresses were delivered by the members, or by individuals holding similar opinions who happened to visit the town. The number of members being steadily on the increase, in spite of the untiring exertions of the church and king clubs, the societies began to alarm the high-church authorities. Men were sent by them to watch the house, and efforts were made to tamper with some of the poorer members. More proclamations were issued. The old lies about the intended partition of property were thundered forth from press and pulpit. The Reformation society issued a counter address, in which they showed that it was equality of rights, and not of property, that they wanted. They gave this as their definition of equality—

"That by the word equality they understand, that a man (let him be ever so poor, provided he is a good citizen) has as just a claim to an equal partition of rights, liberties, and privileges, as the richest."

Disclaimers were of no avail. Levelers the poor liberals had been called, and levelers they therefore were. No slander was too foul—no lie too gross, if directed against them. The passions of the unthinking were systematically appealed to, and the loyal landlords organised a battalion of blackguards ready for any enterprise which promised pay and drink. Meetings under the presidency of the authorities were held, and at them societies "for the protection of liberty and property against republicans and levelers" were formed, and put in correspondence with similar associations in all parts of the kingdom.

An address, headed "War," showing the dangerous tendency of a war with France, was written by Thomas Cooper, and distributed in the town. A meeting to support the authorities "in suppressing all seditious meetings, and in preventing the propagating of all seditious and treasonable publications" was held on the 11th December, 1792; and, after it broke up, a mob, headed by persons active in the meeting, reinforced by parties collected at various loyal public-houses, attacked the office of the liberal newspaper, the *Herald*, broke the windows, and destroyed everything within their reach. They then proceeded to the house of Mr Walker, and broke his windows. In a while they returned, and broke some more. A third time they did the same thing; and still no interference on the part of the authorities! A regiment of dragoons was in the town, and was ready to act; but as the mob was a "loyal" one, the magistrates did not call upon them. At 10 o'clock at night the mob came for the fourth time to attack Mr Walker's house. Emboldened by meeting with encouragement from those above them, and maddened with drink, they endeavoured to force the doors and windows of the house, in order to get into it, and destroy its inmates. No assistance arriving, Mr Walker fired upon the people, and they then dispersed at once. When all the danger was over, magistrates and special constables appeared!

These riotous proceedings were animadverted upon in the house of Commons by Mr Fox and Mr Grey. Mr Windham, in replying to Fox, justified the violence against Walker, while condemning the outrage upon the laws!

The three associations issued an address to the people on the 20th of December, and this was their last public act. The paper headed "War" had so much struck the attention, even of those who did not care much about reform, that several reprints of it had been issued by various parties. In June, 1793, a member of the Reformation society, named Booth, was apprehended, on a warrant issued by the Rev. Mr Griffiths, for distributing copies of this paper. While in prison, every art was tried to induce him to swear against the principal members of the obnoxious societies. They failed; and he got liberated on bail. A few hours afterwards, he was re-arrested on a charge, sworn to by a man named Dunn, a member of the Patriotic society, of having cursed the king. Placed in prison along with Dunn, treated with rigour, excluded from seeing his family, told by men in office that his life would be taken unless he turned evidence against the leaders, it is no matter of wonder that he promised to do as desired, and that he corroborated the falsehoods sworn to by Dunn. The joint evidence was to the effect, that men had been regularly drilled to the use of arms in Mr Walker's warehouse—that a plot had been going on in the societies to overturn the government, and aid a French army of invasion—and that Walker, Paul, and others, had cursed the king! Therefore warrants, charging them with high treason, were issued against Walker, Paul, Jackson, Cheetham, Pearsall, Booth (the new evidence), and Collier. These warrants were unexecuted in nearly every case, except Paul's. The reason was that Booth refused to swear to his extorted declaration, and informed Mr Walker of the means taken to induce him to back Dunn's evidence. Mr Walker wrote to the Secretary of State repeatedly, to inform him, that as he heard he was to be apprehended on a charge of high treason, he was to be found at such or such a place.

Though few in number, the liberals associated together were made of the right material; and it was found impossible to obtain an evidence in Booth's place. Milne, the clerk of the peace, declared, "that although he had a list of several hundred democrats, he could not procure another evidence." Ultimately the charge of high treason was abandoned, and one of conspiracy (a charge which only required the evidence of one witness) was established. On this charge Mr Walker was apprehended, and immediately liberated on bail. The prisoners before-named were brought up for trial at the Spring assizes, at Lancaster, 1794. Dunn's evidence was proved to be false. All the prisoners were honestly acquitted; and the poor tool of the creatures of government was forthwith put into the dock, and committed by the judge on a charge of perjury. At the next assizes he was tried. Griffith, the magistrate who had been the presiding divinity in getting up the treason case, was one of the evidences against him. He was rewarded for his perjuries with two years' imprisonment.

The prisoners, on their honourable acquittal, were exposed to the insults of the drunken church and king mobs, and to the malevolence of the numberless bigots. Mr Walker, after being put to an expense of £3,000, owing to the trial, had to undergo a series of petty persecutions, which resulted in loss of friends, of business, and of a portion of his previously ample fortune. Cooper went to America. Falkner and Birch, the proprietors of the *Herald*, stood their ground until compelled to fly to America, there being five ex-officio informations, and six indictments, against each of them. The associations were broken up. Soon after the Habeas Corpus act was suspended; and for many years the torch of liberty hardly showed a glimmer in the manufacturing districts.

It is painful to read of these dangerous times. Painful to see the noblest minds dispirited by the easily-incited violence of some of those in whose favour they were struggling. Painful to see men hounded on to rivet their own fetters, and to shout in triumph over the perpetuation of their own slavery. Painful to see reason and justice for

awhile overthrown, and men of mind bowing before war as a god, and doing homage to bigotry as their chosen ruler. Can we wonder that, when the men, who, in 1792, shouted "Church and king," and attacked men's houses, cried aloud for middle-class help—there was no Walker to lead them?

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

On Thursday night a meeting took place at the Crown and Anchor, to consider the proceedings connected with the recent lamentable disturbances in the northern and midland counties, and to adopt such measures relative thereto as may be deemed necessary. Mr T. Duncombe, M.P., was called to the chair. The chairman opened the proceedings with a humourous and effective speech, in which he dealt out some hard hits at Lord Abinger, and took a view of the strength and progress of chartism. Mr Balls moved, Dr Bowkett seconded, and Mr F. O'Connor supported, the first resolution, which was to the following effect:—

"That this meeting most deeply regret and sympathise with the degraded and distressed condition of the labouring portion of their fellow-subjects, shown so particularly throughout the late unfortunate disturbances in the northern and midland counties."

Mr Fuzel then moved:—

"That while we readily admit that persons convicted on true and sufficient evidence before a just judge and honest jury, of any real crime connected with the lamentable outbreaks referred to, were deserving of punishment, they think that such punishment should have been awarded only in proportion to the wrongs proved to have been inflicted on society, and with a due regard to that mercy with which the administration of the law should have been tempered, especially under the peculiar circumstances."

This was supported by Mr Westerton and Colonel Thompson. Mr Cleave, in a short speech, moved the next resolution:—

"That nearly three hundred families having, by the sentences passed during the late special commission, been deprived of their natural protectors, and reduced thereby to a condition which presents no other alternative than to seek refuge in union workhouses, or to become houseless and destitute wanderers; and such enormous expenses having been entailed upon the individuals indicted, who have traversed their trials, as to demonstrate that justice, which should be freely dispensed, to be procured must be dearly purchased; it therefore now behoves the friends generally of humanity, apart from all reference to individual, political, or other opinions, to testify their sympathy for the unfortunate families of the men already sentenced, and at the same time their desire to see justice secured in future, by establishing a general defence and support fund."

The last resolution contained a strong censure of Lord Abinger, and expressed a hope that the House of Commons would inquire into the proceedings of the late special commission. A committee was then formed to carry the above resolutions into effect, and the meeting separated.

The metropolitan anti-corn-law associations have commenced their winter agitation. A meeting was held last week to receive the report of a sub-committee, to devise and determine upon a plan for the future operations of the anti-corn-law party in the metropolis. A plan for organising the metropolis was therein laid down, and the meeting resolved on its adoption.

Mr Hullah's musical class met on Monday evening week, at Exeter hall, and presented him with a most elegant and elaborately-finished music-stand, as a testimony of the esteem and respect of his pupils belonging to that class. Mr Hullah returned thanks. Lord Wharncliffe also addressed the meeting. There was a series of musical exercises, in excellent time.

A fancy dress ball, attended by at least 2,000 fashionables, was held in the London Guildhall, on Wednesday night last, for the purpose of increasing the funds for the relief of the Polish exiles.

The new and elegant structure recently erected on the site in Threadneedle street, formerly occupied by the old French Protestant church, being now nearly completed, will shortly be opened to the public under the title of "The London Hall of Commerce." The new Hall of commerce is intended for the accommodation of merchants and traders from all quarters of the globe, who will now be enabled to assemble for the purposes of transacting business in a hall of vast proportions and immense extent.

The statue of the Duke of Wellington intended for the City is finished, but the committee have not yet decided on the site it is to occupy. The subscription for it is somewhat under 15,000*l*.

During the last week a very great reduction has taken place in the price of butchers' meat, and in consequence there has been a corresponding fall in the prices of other provisions. Several of the butchers at the west-end have advertised that they are selling the best wether mutton at 6d. per lb., and beef (if taken in fair proportions) at a similar rate. In the leading thoroughfares, where the humbler classes usually market, mutton can be purchased at from 5½d. to 6½d. per lb., and roasting beef at 7d. per lb.; rump steaks 8½d. per lb., coarser pieces in proportion. In Clare market, Drury lane, and its vicinity, American bacon and pork are selling from 2d. to 4½d. per lb.; Berwick pork from 4d. to 5½d. per lb.; prime Wiltshire bacon, 5½d. per lb. by the half side; dairy-fed pork, from 6d. to 8d. per lb. Butter can be had as low as 6d. per lb., and the best salt 10d. per lb.; prime Dorset, 1s. per lb. Cheese, according to the quality, from 4½d. to 8½d. per lb. The best household bread, 6d. to 6½d. the 4lb. loaf. Potatoes, 15 lbs. for 6d. In some places American bacon, so called, can be had as low as 1½d. per lb.—*Morning Herald.*

PROVINCIAL.

Anti-corn-law League.—The usual weekly meeting of the League was held on Thursday evening, at Newall's buildings, Manchester; George Wilson, Esq. in the chair. The Chairman, as usual, gave an account of the progress of the League fund:—

"Since they last met, the general committee of the League fund had been engaged in superintending the organisation of the various committees required for other towns throughout the country. To a great extent they had succeeded in effecting that organisation in most of the largest towns, both at a distance and in their own immediate neighbourhood. Arrangements were making to carry out the same organisation in the smaller towns of the kingdom, and in a week or two also the entire of the metropolis would also be in a condition to afford them efficient help. At present, he was enabled to state the formation of committees in Manchester, Bury, Kendal, Bilston, Leeds, Coventry, Labden, Warrington, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Falkirk, Melbourne, Nantwich, Staleybridge, Huddersfield, Blackburn, Colchester, Doncaster, Great Torrington, Sheffield, Halifax, Lanark, and Wigan. The campaign had now commenced in earnest, and committees were in the course of formation in Pontefract, Norwich, Oakengates, Derby, Preston, Dundee, West Linton, Peebleshire, Saddleworth, Gloucester, Tintwistle, and Holywell. In some of the large towns arrangements were making, or had been made, for the holding of tea-parties; among other places, for instance, at Liverpool on Friday night, this evening at Coventry, and at Sheffield, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, and Accrington; and to each of these places dispatches of the most influential members of the League would be sent, to bring more prominently under their notice the schemes the League had in view, than could otherwise be effected. In addition to these arrangements, other members of the League had agreed to visit the towns of Ashton-under-Lyne, Staleybridge, Dukinfield, Hyda, Bolton, Burnley, Chorley, Clitheroe, Haslingden, Lancaster, Leigh, Prescot, Preston, Stockport, Warrington, Saddleworth, Halifax, Dewsbury, Sheffield, Rotherham, Huddersfield, Bradford, Doncaster, Wakefield, and Leeds. They had placed upon their staff of lecturers three gentlemen of considerable powers and interest during the past week. One of these gentlemen was a person from whom they had a powerful address at their last meeting. He meant Mr J. S. Buckingham. These gentlemen, it was intended, should visit in succession all the large towns, cities, and boroughs, in the kingdom. Two lecturers had been placed in the rural districts in addition to those before engaged, and thus it might be said the agitation was carrying on upon a scale never contemplated before by any other society having existence in this kingdom."

The meeting was afterwards addressed by the Rev. Mr Roaf and T. Gisborne, Esq., the invited guests for the evening.

Free Trade Meeting at Liverpool.—On Friday evening a grand *soirée* was given at Liverpool, by the Anti-monopoly society of that town. The amphitheatre was crowded in every part, and the accommodation was very inefficient. It was expected that Mr O'Connell would have been present, but he had not arrived from Ireland. W. Rathbone, Esq., was in the chair; and among the company present were some of the influential inhabitants of Liverpool. The meeting was addressed at length by J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Mr John Bright of Rochdale, Richard Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton, and Mr Cobden, the speeches of whom, especially that of the latter, were received with great applause. The chief feature in each address was the question of free trade, and more especially that branch of it—the corn-law monopoly—which they had met to discuss.

Southampton, Nov. 21.—The West India steamer Clyde, Captain Ewing, arrived here on Friday night, with thirteen passengers and a small quantity of specie; she left Bermuda on the 3rd inst. The Solway, which was stated to have been burnt, was left safe at Bermuda. The Clyde was detained two days at Bermuda, owing to the severity of the weather. She brought twenty-one days' mails, but no news of any importance from the West Indies. The Clyde started for Blackwall to-day to undergo repairs. The Little Liverpool arrived yesterday from the Peninsula, and brought a few head of Spanish cattle. The Medway left Southampton last Wednesday for the West Indies. Much dislike has been expressed for the captain of that vessel for his treatment of the crew of the Isis. They were induced to attempt to bring home that ill-fated vessel through the promise that the Medway should sail in company with her, and save the crew in case of accident. It appears that the captain of the Medway wantonly refused to take the property of the crew on board, and the consequence was, that the men belonging to the Isis arrived at Southampton in a destitute condition, having lost all claim to wages through their vessel foundering. This has revealed a very great defect in our mercantile law; for, while the owners of a vessel can insure it to its full amount, there can be no means taken to secure the crew of that vessel their pay, even if they have been months at sea, when an accident prevents them from bringing their vessel safe into port.

State of Trade.—At Manchester there has been a slight revival of trade, and a small advance in prices. The Leeds market has been about an average of those of the last month, but there has been a little more speculation. At Bradford and Rochdale the demand for goods has been moderate, and prices of fancy articles in the former place are ruinously low. There has been less business doing at Leicester than there was last week. At Halifax stocks are again accumulating, the demand being very limited.

A Clergyman Convicted of Assault.—A very extraordinary case came before the Under-sheriff for the county of Bucks, on Wednesday. It was a writ of inquiry to assess the damages which the plaintiff, a gentleman named Smith, had sustained by reason of the conduct of the defendant, a clergyman named Day, in committing a trespass and assaulting his wife. The defendant was beating a child, in consequence of some offensive expressions, when Mrs Smith, witnessing the occurrence, came out to inquire into the matter. The defendant gave her several blows with the butt-end of his riding-whip upon her neck and shoulders, and continued to do so until prevented by a servant. He afterwards, in the absence of the plaintiff, broke down his gate and injured his property. The jury returned a verdict, damages 200*l*.

Northleach Prison.—The commission appointed to investigate the treatment of the prisoners in the Northleach house of correction is being prosecuted with great vigour. All the witnesses examined before the late inquest on Beale were re-examined on Tuesday and Wednesday; and, after the case was finished, other witnesses were examined as to the alleged insufficiency of diet and other privations. After finishing at Northleach, the commissioners proceeded to the other prisons of the county.

Destructive Fire.—On Saturday night the extensive and valuable corn mills of Messrs George and William Pointon, known by the name of the steam mills, at Lawton, near Sandbach, were completely destroyed, with the exception of the boilers, engine house, and the outside walls. The whole of the valuable machinery, with the stock, save several tons of cheese and the books of the firm, are reduced to a heap of smoking ruins. The floors, four in number, gave way one after another; and in two hours and a half from its being first perceived, the whole of the building was completely gutted, and the only service the engines could render was to play upon the burning mass now lying upon the ground-floor. The value of the stock, as near as can at present be ascertained, was about 1,500*l*. It is not known how the fire originated.

IRELAND.

The new Irish attorney-general, Mr T. B. C. Smith, has commenced his official career by abandoning the prosecutions against the press instituted by his predecessor. In the Queen's Bench, in the cases of the Queen *v.* Duffy and Dowdall, the Attorney-general said that, upon the part of the Crown, he had to state that the sole object of the prosecution was to rescue the administration of justice from unmerited imputation. Therefore they did not think it necessary to call up the defendants for judgment. Chief Justice Pennefather, who was observed to redden at this announcement, maintained a dignified silence.

A requisition is in course of signature in Ireland, for the purpose of convening a meeting in order to decide on the best mode of "an en-

during testimonial of the esteem in which the labours of the Rev. Mr Mathew are held by all classes of the community."

On Tuesday morning the Bishop of Cashel died in Dublin, aged 64.

SCOTLAND.

The Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P. for Perth, and late under secretary for the home department, has been elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow by a majority in all the nations. The hon. gentleman's opponent was the Marquis of Bute. Mr Maule had the support of the non-intrusions, and the Marquis of Bute of the moderates.

The meeting of the non-intrusion members of the establishment was held for the first time on Thursday night in Roxburgh church; but neither lay members of the church nor reporters for the public press were permitted to be present. The proceedings were strictly private. The clergymen entitled to be present were compelled to be provided with tickets, in order to obtain admission. The convocation is expected to continue its sittings for several days. It is rumoured that a public sitting will be held before the convocation breaks up. Upwards of 400 of the clergy have attended.

The commission of General Assembly for the church of Scotland opened on Wednesday last, and sat on that and the following day. Press of matter prevents us giving in the present number an abstract of their proceedings, which did not comprise many subjects of importance.

At a meeting of the noblemen and gentlemen, and commissioners of supply of the county of Renfrew on Thursday, it was agreed by a majority to assess the county in the sum of £8,000, for the benefit of the poor unemployed operatives.

Riots have again taken place in Ayrshire among the colliers. On Monday a party of new hands arrived to join the works of Mr Gordon. They were assailed by a mob, but the prompt arrival of the magistrates, who read the Riot act and sent for the yeomanry, prevented any serious consequence. On Wednesday night, however, a further outrage took place, attended with the most lamentable results. About seven o'clock, an attack was made on a number of the new workers, in a house in Foundry lane, and the whole of them have been severely maltreated; and one of them has been stabbed in the left thigh, besides having his arm broken, and other severe lacerated wounds on the head. The yeomanry and police were immediately set to work to discover the guilty parties, and on Thursday morning six individuals had been apprehended.

On Wednesday, a new building, called the Corn Exchange, was opened at Glasgow. It is 80 feet long by 57 wide, and is capable of storing 800 tons of grain.

The Mastiff surveying vessel has been for some time employed in taking a survey of the Orkneys. The survey of the main land, and all the isles to the south of it, is already completed, and the vessel left Kirkwall last week for the purpose of proceeding with that of the north islands. Two or three seasons will be required yet before the survey will be finished.—*Caledonian Mercury.*

College for Ladies.—A short time ago a college for ladies was opened in Glasgow, and is called Queen's college. In commenting on the subject the *Glasgow Argus* says:—"We are glad to learn that this institution is succeeding far beyond expectation; but, from the ample provision made for the instruction of grown-up ladies, we are certain that the present amount of success is nothing to what it will hereafter attain. Some of our fair readers will be astonished to learn that there are thirteen courses of lectures, each capable of instructing 100 ladies, so that 1,300, too old or too learned for school, may advance with ease and pleasure in various branches of literature, science, and art!"

WILLIAM HONE.

We recorded in our obituary of the 9th inst the decease of Mr Wm Hone, at Tottenham, in the 63rd year of his age. For many years he had been suffering from repeated seizures of paralysis, which terminated fatally in dropsy, on the 6th inst; and he was buried on Friday the 11th, in the Abney Park cemetery. Besides the members of his own family, a few friends only (amongst whom were the Rev. Thomas Binney, Mr George Cruikshank, and Mr Charles Dickens) followed his remains to their last resting place.

Thus has another gifted man been taken from our midst; and another name added to the ample list of the illustrious dead. The death of the good is ever a public loss—but the good which William Hone did will live after him, in the grateful and admiring recollection of his friends and countrymen.

As a writer and as a patriot; as a friend and a companion; as a citizen and as a Christian—his memory will long be cherished amongst us. Most assuredly, we shall not soon "look upon his like again."

In so brief a notice as ours must be, we shall not pretend to estimate the intrinsic or relative value of his political writings; on a future occasion we may pass them under more distinct review. They were confessedly temporary, but they were pre-eminently successful. All his efforts in the cause of liberty realised his aims, not one of them was a failure. His career belongs to history, and any account of the period of Mr Hone's active public life would be imperfect, in which his distinguished labours were not fully delineated. The freedom of the press was struck at in his person, and it was saved by his unparalleled efforts. For three successive days, before three successive juries and judges, did this self-educated man defend himself and his cause, single-handed, against an arbitrary court, wielding all the powers of the bar, the subserviency of the bench, and the prejudices of jurors, in the worst part of the worst reign in modern times—and he came off successfully—the victorious champion, not the martyr, of the popular cause. It is well known that the gratitude of the friends of liberty, as displayed by pretty general subscriptions, was almost equal to the merits of its advocate. His reputation reached its height by these surprising displays of courage and ability; and a wide range and choice of political associates was thus opened up to him. With but few exceptions, however, he entertained no high opinion of the leading individuals among any class of the liberals. To the last he was a staunch democrat, though he had many personal friends among the dominant factions.

His contributions to general literature were such, it is not too much to say, as no other individual of this day could have rendered. The most biting of our political satirists became the most genial of our antiquaries. With the highest relish for the highest works—possessing a most familiar, judicious, and exact acquaintance with our best authors, from the earliest time to the present, in all classes and departments of literature—and cultivating his fine natural powers in the first conversational circles—he yet found in the manners, customs, sayings, and doings of our ancestors, an open field for illustration and inquiry; and he well nigh exhausted it. By running the past into the present, and the present into the past, his extensive productions in this class are most amusing, readable, and instructive. It is in these researches, where he discovers equal taste, genius, and industry.

The public will judge of William Hone by his works only—but his friends are but too well aware that none of them can be taken as the exact measure of their impression of his powers. His ordinary talk was more remarkable than his most extraordinary writings. His conversation (we allude, of course, to what it was previous to the first paralytic seizure), while resembling that of the old school was still quite up to the modern mark. Certainly it was, for fulness, and variety, and *trenchantness*, peculiarly fascinating. Conversation it always was—he never forgot you in himself, or the respect due to his companion in the interest taken in his subject. As occasion required, there would be duly mingled by him, on "a gaudy day" or in "a night of it," as much of gravity and humour, lore and earnestness, shrewdness, fun, congeniality, wit, and energy, as can well be compassed by mortals, since the memorable days of "The Mermaid." What things he would say! How he would cut into the marrow of a book at a word; or catch the features of a character, be it big, little, or middle-sized, at a glance! What stories he would tell! and these stories of his, by-the-by, were not tales to be told over and over again, as the manner of some is—these were invariably *extempore*—generally incidental to, and always illustrative, or constituting a part, of the current conversation. The charm of all, however, was resolvable into good sense. It was truly Socratic. The certain impression from his conversation was that of ability, great ability, combined with the most unquestionable kindliness, rather than the predominance of any particular faculty, quality, or gift. There never was left by him upon any one, at any time, any such impression as that he was a mere wit—still less was there anything savouring of the wag, jester, mimic, or buffoon. His writings, off-hand matters as they generally were, always relish of this "sound round-about sense." They were eminently marked by the practical, by a fine sense of the actual. We need not say that from everything profane, vulgar, or mercenary, his very spirit recoiled with ineffable disgust and scorn. He would tolerate no scandal; he was ever more ready to praise than censure; and far more disposed to admire the honesty of an effort, than the talent displayed in it; nor was there ever a man more free from envy, or less conscious of his own powers. His style was different from Coleridge's or Macintosh's, but he resembled them in the spontaneous flow of his discourse, which seemed to issue from unfathomable depths, and to be fed by springs apparently exhaustless. Moreover, it was English, not French—still less Latin or German; he was a master of the mother tongue. He had an especial gift, both of diffuse and aphoristic talk. In short, both men and things, both as they were and as they are, were appreciated by him in admirable keeping and proportion, and reflected in his mind as from a mirror.

William Hone was no niggard of his hardly-acquired lore. Meritorious books which he had found covered with dust or oblivion, or which he had accidentally met with, he was always fain to tell about. We have known much of labour at such a place as the British Museum made a present of, as it were, in a single remark, by the by; and thus would his conversation, in its manifold twists and currents, turn up invaluable hints which would set curiosity off, and perhaps serve to guide the student to a course of reading, or even touch a time-worn creed, or erect a theory of morals or taste, and thus colour the complexion of a man's intellectual life. Many men are now living who owe much to the suggestions of William Hone's "Table Talk." Such, it may be mentioned, was his fondness for looking up authorities and references, that he tested all that crowd the margin of "Coke upon Littleton," a labour which perhaps not half-a-dozen extant professors of the law have performed.

The plastic character of his nature, as evidenced by his extraordinary facility in some things, and susceptibility in all, led him into many a mistake in conduct and many a vagary in opinion; but this amiable idiosyncrasy enhanced his companionable popularity. His sympathies were always alive, and well would it have been for him if he had kept them under more steady control. His influence would have been greater if he had been less impressible and less caressed; if he had always counted the future cost of present gratification; if he had preferred in early manhood the most formidable struggles of independence to the precarious charity of public or private benefactions. With all the strength of his many great and gentle endowments, there was mingled the alloy of no small amount of unquestionable weakness. The little things which go far to make up a man's weal or woe among his fellow-men, and become great when they are attended to under a constant sense of the presence of duty, were not sufficiently, or at all times, regarded. But our business is not with what he might have been, but with what he was. If in early years he had been better trained, he might not have done what he did. What he accomplished, as he was, might not have been even attempted. Much that was powerful might have been merged in the puritanism of a spotless ledger, and all that was remarkable swamped in the exhibition of a selfish, meagre, external respectability; but we should not have had the "Three Days' Trials," or the "Every Day Book," or the "Slap at Slop." Nevertheless, the sterling stuff that was in him did not *sound* in heroic qualities. He should have been seated in a sunny porch all day, and fed at the public charge; and not left to play "fast and loose" with the sacred quoits of *meum* and *tuum*.

These fearful mistakes must ever, sooner or later, correct themselves by an unerring and peculiar process; and large and bitter was our late friend's experience of the impolicy of make-shifts, and the impiety of *carpe diem*. It was his lot to suffer much; but all the losses and the crosses worked together for good for him; and led him, late in life, but not too late, into the quiet paths of faith and meekness—the practice of lowly duties, the cultivation of his heart, the study of revealed truth, and constant converse with the highest realities and the profoundest consolations. He has now gone to his rest. Peace be to his memory.

LITERATURE.

The Psalmist. A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, suited to all the Varieties of Metrical Psalmody: consisting of Tunes already in general use for Congregational Worship, newly harmonised for Four Voices, with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte: the greater part by VINCENT NOVELLO. Comprising, also, many original Compositions and Adaptations, contributed expressly to this Work by himself and other eminent Professors: the whole adapted as well for Social and Domestic Devotion as for Public Worship. Part IV. London: Haddon, Castle street, Finsbury square.

BY those who are observant of curious and pleasing coincidences, it will be regarded as not a little remarkable that just upon the heels of the publication of former portions of this work should follow a novel system of musical education, calculated in all respects to enhance its value. Within the several parts of the "Psalmist" there exists a mine of the richest ore—and Mr Hullah is teaching our congregations to work it to advantage. But for Novello, the materials for sacred singing, scattered over a wide surface, and alloyed with a superabundance of rubbish, would, with few exceptions, have offered no inducement to the cultivation of this department of divine worship—but for Mr Hullah, skill would have been wanting to render nobler materials available for public use. As it is, we have first the reformer of psalmody, and then, not many paces behind him, the instructor in song—first a literature of sacred music, and then a schoolmaster. Honour to the man who has given us the one—equal honour to the man who is exercising the functions of the other! Their combined influence will shake to its fall the old *regime*. We think we see the hoary, and, we may justly add, the hoarse tyrant, the evil genius, who usurped the throne of psalmody for many a year, beckoning around him his functionaries and priests—the choirs and clerks of an expiring system—and grumbling out, in discordant accents, his apprehensions of a speedy termination to his reign. In imagination, we can distinctly discern the looks of horror with which these once exultant worthies witness the onward march of a power which is destined, they prophetically feel, to despoil them of their honours, and depose them from their supremacy. The days of their exclusive rule are gone by. Farewell those feats of musical, or rather anti-musical, agility which none but the initiated in singing-seat mysteries could venture upon attempting! Farewell those moments of sweet self-complacency and glowing satisfaction which constituted the reward of a successful fugue; and which were never enjoyed by the performers without a benevolent wish that the whole congregation, if they could not share the delightful emotion, might at least recognise its existence and observe its play! Farewell those sportive gambols on the gamut which gave full license to the fancy and the breath, and in which the stern rules of harmony might be safely set at defiance! Singers of the old school, of every grade, ranting, tearing, frisking, or grumbling, mumbling, jumbling, take warning—your hour is come!

"If there's a hole in a' your coats
I rede ye tent it;
A chiel's amang you *making* notes,
And faith he 'll prent it."

In our notice of the former portions of this work we complained of the lapse of time which had been suffered to follow the publication of the third part of the "Psalmist" without any indications of its completion. It is now, at length, completed—and a noble edifice it is of sacred song—beautiful in its proportions, rich in materials, chaste in style. Here and there, indeed, the cornices and capitals, and friezes, may be thought to be too elaborately carved—and some critics will pronounce that there is something too much for public appreciation of what we may call the fretwork of harmony. But we confess we do not see it in this light. The structure of a very considerable number of the tunes is massive, and wanted just this kind of relief. Without it, there would have been an air of monotony about the work, for which not even its grandeur would have been a sufficient compensation. But now we have simplicity united with variety—solemnity divested of all dulness; and they who use the "Psalmist" will find *music*, aye! *music*, adapted to give fulness of expression to every sacred sentiment and every devotional feeling.

The fourth part of the "Psalmist" will not detract from the high reputation of its predecessors—haply it may enhance it. Some of the tunes are pre-eminently beautiful. We have neither room nor inclination to individualise; nor, indeed, is it at all necessary. Those who have the first three parts of the work will, even in these times of commercial distress and income-tax, speedily add this to their store—and those who purchase this, will not rest content until they have sounded every string of the melodious instrument—until they have tried every tune. All things please not all men alike. In music, as elsewhere, tastes vary—and it is useless disputing about them. Let each one judge for himself, as each one will be anxious to do. Our judgment of the work, as a whole, we have freely and sincerely given. To the proprietors, to the editor, to the harmonists, and to the composers, of this noble selection of psalmody, the public is deeply, and will be permanently indebted—and, for ourselves, as constituting a unit of that public, we say with all warmth of feeling, and from the depths of our heart—"Gentlemen, one and all, we thank you!"

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *Observations on the School Return for Bath and Wells.* By the Rev. T. SPENCER.
2. *Paxton's Illustrations of Scripture—Sacred Geography.*
3. *Paxton's Illustrations of Scripture—Natural History.*
4. *Lectures on Jonah.* By J. PEDDIE, D.D.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE REV. ROBERT MOFFAT.—On Thursday the 3rd instant, a social meeting was held in the Waterloo rooms, Edinburgh, on the occasion of presenting to the Rev. Robert Moffat, missionary to South Africa, an elegantly bound copy of the Encyclopædia Britannica, as a mark of esteem from friends in Edinburgh. The room was crowded in every quarter. The Rev. Mr Alexander having been called to the chair, the Rev. Mr Grey, in an eloquent address, called the attention of the meeting to the arduous and devoted labours of their distinguished guest, and the signal service he had rendered to humanity, in introducing pure religion and civilisation among tribes till then sunk in the grossest ignorance and deepest depravity. He then read the inscription on the book. Mr Moffat, in his reply, gave some interesting anecdotes of the people among whom he had been labouring. The Rev. Dr Brown gave a beautiful valedictory address, in which he expressed the earnest wishes of the meeting for the health, happiness, and prosperity of Mr and Mrs Moffat, and of their fellow-labourers, Mr and Mrs Inglis, who accompany them to South Africa; and concluded by bidding them all an affectionate farewell.

On Wednesday, the 9th instant, the Rev. Jabez Tunnicliff, late pastor of the baptist church at Longford, near Coventry, was designated to the work of a home missionary, at the baptist chapel, Mary's gate, Derby. The Rev. R. Kenny of Wirksworth commenced the service with reading and prayer, after which the Rev. J. J. Owen of Castle Donington delivered an address, founded on Hosea, iv. 6, on the moral condition of our country. Then Mr Tunnicliff gave his reasons for resigning his pastoral charge, and preferring to engage in home missionary labours. The Rev. R. Stanyon of Melbourne offered prayer in behalf of Mr Tunnicliff, and the Rev. J. G. Pike delivered a solemn and faithful charge.

CARMARTHEN.—On the second of November, the Tabernacle, baptist chapel, Carmarthen, was re-opened for divine service. At seven in the morning a prayer meeting was held. At ten, the Rev. John Edwards, Carmarthen, prayed, and the Rev. Jenkin Thomas, Cheltenham, delivered a discourse in English, and the Rev. D. D. Evans, Pontshydymn, followed him in Welsh. At two, Mr Roberts, Tredegar, prayed, and Mr Williams, Aberduar, and Mr Evans, Felinvoel, preached in Welsh. At six, the Rev. H. Hughes, Wesleyan, prayed, and the Rev Jenkin Thomas preached in English, and the Rev. D. R. Stephen, Newport, in Welsh. This is one of the neatest and most compact meeting houses in the principality. Its dimensions are 63ft by 48ft. The expenses incurred in its erection amounted to about £1200.

SILCOATES SCHOOL.—It gives us sincere pleasure to announce that Master Alexander Ramsay, son of Rev. John Ramsay, home missionary, Guisborough, a pupil of this school for the last two years and a half, has been the successful candidate for a vacant bursary at the united college of St Salvators and St Leonard's, university of St Andrew's, Scotland. The value of the bursary or scholarship is £100 per annum, which the successful competitor is entitled to hold for nine years. The numerous friends and supporters of Silcoates will doubtless be gratified to learn that, through the medium of their invaluable institution, the son of a worthy and laborious home missionary has been qualified to obtain a distinction at once so creditable and advantageous.

A very considerable number of forged bank of England notes are again in circulation. They appear to have been worked from one plate, as they are numbered 1827, and are all dated June 4, 1842.

Letters sent under envelope to any part of America are charged as double letters by the post office there—thus, 9d. is the inland postage of a single letter; but, in an envelope, the charge is 1s. 6d. They who have friends should remember this.

It is said that the manufacturers in Nottingham and Derby are endeavouring to bring out coats and trowsers woven in the frame, and that ultimately it is expected they will accomplish this object.

The toast of "her Majesty's ministers" has very generally been dropped at the agricultural dinners this year.

A monument to Grace Darling is to be placed over her remains, at Bamburgh, and a tablet to be put up in the Fern Island lighthouse, both recording the particulars of her bold and humane exploit on the 7th, Sept., 1838.

The Austrian government has authorised the construction of a railway to traverse Vienna, and unite the station of the north with that at the south of the country. The carriages are to be drawn by horses.

It appears that 23,739 foreigners visited the waters of Baden Baden this year, and that they spent about £300,000. The majority were English and Russians.

Sidney Smith says, that her Majesty has gone to the neighbourhood of Deal instead of Brighton, because the castle there is a "Deal Walmer" than the pavilion.

MARRIAGES.

Nov. 16, at Swanage, Dorset, by the Rev. R. Chamberlain, HENRY WORSLEY BENISON, Esq., late of Newton villa, Swansea, to MARY, youngest daughter of Mr SMEDMORE, Swanage.

Nov. 15, by license, at the independent chapel, Uxbridge, by the Rev. Thomas G. Stamper, Mr JOHN NASH, to Miss HANNAH TATE, both of that town.

Nov. 16, at Hessle, near Hull, by the Rev. Henry Newmarch, vicar, Mr ANDREW DUNCAN, merchant, of Hull, to JANE, the youngest daughter of the late Rev. John HAWKSLEY, of London.

DEATHS.

Nov. 17, at Evington hall, near Leicester, of consumption, aged 15, most deeply lamented, HESTER ELIZA, the eldest daughter of Henry Freeman COLEMAN, Esq.

Nov. 12, at Ely, Mr WILLIAM CLAXTON, in his 43rd year, of apoplexy.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Nov. 18.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Saint Mary's, Stockton, Durham. William Best, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

LYON, WILLIAM, jun., of Cambridge, and of Woodford, Essex.

BANKRUPTS.

APLIN, JOHN, Bicester, Oxfordshire, scrivener, to surrender Dec. 1, 30: solicitors, Messrs Risley and Chappell, Quality court, Chancery lane.

BAILEY, CHARLES, Berkhampstead St Peter, Herts, plumber, Nov. 28, Dec. 30: solicitor, Mr Williams, Lincoln's inn fields.

BAYLEY, WILLIAM, Hastings, Sussex, wholesale grocer, Dec. 3, 20: solicitors, Messrs Rixon and Son, 20, Jewry street, Aldgate.

BELL, THOMAS, Newcastle-on-Tyne, tea dealer, Nov. 29, Dec. 30: solicitors, Messrs Hill and Matthews, St Mary Axe, London, and Mr Ions Hewison, Newcastle.

BIGNELL, THOMAS, Chatham, Kent, linen draper, Nov. 23, Dec. 27: solicitor, Mr Reynolds, 10, Adam street, Adelphi.

BROWN, GEORGE BEALE, Liverpool, commission merchant, Dec. 1, Jan. 5: solicitors, Mr Mason, Liverpool, and Messrs Willis and Co., Tokenhouse yard, London.

BULL, WILLIAM, and TURNER, FRANCIS, Birmingham, printers. Nov. 26, Dec. 22: solicitors, Messrs Clarke and Medcalfe, 20, Lincoln's inn fields, and Messrs Wills and Oliver, Birmingham.

BUTLER, SAMUEL, WILLIAM, and JAMES, Birmingham, ironfounders, Nov. 23, Dec. 20: solicitor, Mr James, Birmingham.

COLLINGS, WILLIAM, Devonport, baker, Nov. 29, Dec. 27: solicitors, Mr G. W. Turner, Exeter, and Mr W. Chapman, Devonport.

DEANE, GEORGE, Upper Tooting, Surrey, livery stable keeper, Dec. 3, 24: solicitor, Mr Theobald, 2, Staple's inn.

FISHER, TIMOTHY, Randolph street, Camden Town, victualer, Nov. 30, Dec. 30: solicitor, Mr J. Groves, jun., 25, Charlotte street, Bedford square.

GILSON, THOMAS, Bucklersbury, City, coffee-house keeper, Nov. 29, Dec. 30: solicitors, Messrs H. W. and W. C. Sole, Aldermanbury.

JAY, JOHN, London wall, City, builder, Nov. 25, Dec. 30: solicitors, Messrs Richardson and Co., 28, Golden square.

LAURENCE, BENJAMIN, Crown court, Old Broad street, City, and of Zante, merchant, Dec. 2, 30: solicitors, Messrs Gatty and Garth, Angel court.

LINDON, RICHARD, Marlborough, Devonshire, corn factor, Nov. 24, Dec. 23: solicitors, Messrs Weymouth and Green, Cateaton street, London, and Mr Hurrell, Kingsbridge.

MASON, WILLIAM, Boston, Yorkshire, corn dealer, Nov. 29, 30: solicitors, Messrs Walmsley and Co., 43, Chancery lane, London, and Mr C. Kirby, Knaresborough.

PINKERTON, ROBERT, 27, Mark lane, City, merchant, Nov. 29, Dec. 27: solicitors, Messrs M'Leod and Stenning, Billiter street.

SAVAGE, GEORGE, Winchester, Hampshire, dealer in glass, Nov. 22, Dec. 27: solicitor, Mr Parker, St Paul's church yard.

WATERS, STEPHEN, Edenbridge, Kent, draper, Nov. 29, Dec. 28: solicitor, Mr Cattlin, Ely place, Holborn.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ANDERSON, JAMES, CARSWELL, ALLAN, and HARVEY, WILLIAM, Paisley, thread manufacturers, Nov. 21, Dec. 19.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, lately of Glasgow, spirit dealer, Nov. 24, Dec. 15.

ROBERTSON, DAVID, Cowbyres, Forfarshire, cattle dealer, Nov. 24, Dec. 15.

STEUART, JAMES, Thornhill, Perthshire, tanner, Nov. 21, Dec. 12.

TORRANCE, ROBERT, lately of Airdrie, draper, Nov. 25, Dec. 16.

WRIGHT, JOHN and ROBINA, Aberdeen, merchants, Nov. 26, Dec. 19.

Tuesday, November 22.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

WITHEY, GEORGE, Bristol, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

FINN, DAVID BENNETT, Nottingham, tailor, Nov. 28, Jan. 9: solicitor, Mr Shelton, Nottingham.

FISH, CHARLES, Lincoln, butcher, Dec. 6, Jan. 3: solicitors, Mr J. Moore, Lincoln, and Mr James Scott, 25, Lincoln's inn fields, London.

LAWLEY, JOHN, Stafford, cooper, Nov. 29 and January 19.

MILLINGTON, THOMAS, Nottingham, sail manufacturer, Nov. 29, Jan. 10: solicitors, Mr Frederick Lees, Nottingham, and Mr E. T. Taylor, 18, Featherstone buildings, Holborn, London.

MOORE, JOSEPH, Pitfield street, Hoxton, Middlesex, grocer, Dec. 2, Jan. 4: solicitors, Messrs Wood and Wickham, Corbet court, Gracechurch street.

PARKER, JOHN, Manchester, coach builder, Dec. 3, Jan. 10: solicitor, Mr William Ackers, Manchester.

PHILIPS, JOSEPH, Hercules passage, Threadneedle street, City, tavern keeper, Nov. 30, Dec. 25; solicitors, Messrs Fry and Co., Poultry.

RAYNER, WILLIAM, and RAYNER, JOHN, Uxbridge and Hillingdon, Middlesex, seed crushers, Nov. 30, Jan. 3: solicitors, Messrs Poole and Gamlen, Gray's inn, London.

SEABER, JOHN, Sohum, Cambridgeshire, grocer, Dec. 2, Jan. 3: solicitor, Mr J. F. Isaacson, 40, Norfolk street, Strand.

SEWELL, JOHN, Chatteris, Cambridgeshire, money scrivener, Dec. 1, Jan. 3: solicitors, Messrs Day and Swallow, St Ives, Huntingdonshire, and Messrs Smithson and Milton, 23, Southampton buildings, London.

WALFORD, ALFRED, Manchester, commission agent, Dec. 8, Jan. 3: solicitors, Mr Charles Cooper, Manchester, and Messrs Gregory and Co., Bedford row, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

AMBROSE, DAVID, and BARTHOLOMEW, JOHN, Leith, merchants, Nov. 28, Dec. 19.

BAXTER, GEORGE ROSS, and SANDEMAN, DAVID, Dundee, confectioners, Nov. 29, Dec. 17.

BAXTER, GEORGE ROSS, Dundee, confectioner, Nov. 26, Dec. 17.

CHRYSTAL, JAMES, Kilmarnock, draper, Nov. 26, Dec. 16.

GARDINER, GEORGE, late of Perth, writer, Nov. 26, Dec. 28.

LAWRIE, ALEXANDER, and LAWRIE, JAMES, Glasgow, gingham manufacturers, Nov. 29, Dec. 20.

PARK, ROBERT, Glasgow, corn factor, Nov. 29, Dec. 22.

RUTHERFORD, WALTER, Jedburgh, clock and watch maker, Nov. 28, Dec. 19.

URQUHART, JOHN, Aberdeen, boot and shoe maker, Nov. 28, Dec. 19.

BRITISH FUNDS.

The funds have been very steady since our last, but no great amount of business has been transacted. The intelligence from China on Monday caused a sudden rise to take place.

	Wed.	*Thurs.*	*Fri.*	*Sat.*	*Mon.*	*Tues.*
3 per cent. Consols	94⅛	94⅛	94⅜	94⅜	94⅛	94⅜
Ditto for account	94⅛	94⅛	94⅛	94⅜	94⅜	94⅜
3 per cents. Reduced	93⅜	93⅛	93⅝	93⅝	93⅝	93⅝
3½ per cents. Reduced	100⅜	100⅜	100⅜	100⅜	101	101
New 3½ per cent.	101⅛	101⅜	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛
Long Annuities	12⅜	12⅜	12⅜	12⅜	12⅜	12⅜
Bank Stock	169½	170	169	170	169½	—
India Stock	260¾	260½	261½	262	262	262½
Exchequer Bills	57 pm	56 pm	55 pm	58 pm	58 pm	58 pm
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	51 pm	51 pm	53 pm	—	53 pm	—

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, Nov. 21.

The show of wheat was only moderate; and though the quality of the samples was in most instances fine, sales proceeded slowly at an abatement of 2s. per qr on the terms of this day week.

Barley was likewise difficult of disposal, and even the finest malting parcels were easier to buy, whilst secondary sorts were 1s. per qr cheaper.

Beans and peas were the turn lower.

Oats were not very plentiful, and fresh thrashed corn brought nearly former rates.

	s.	s.		s.	s.		s.	s.
Wheat, Red New	45	to 51	Malt, Ordinary..	42	to 52	Beans, Pigeon ..	32	to 34
Fine	48	.. 52	Pale	54	.. 58	Harrow	30	.. 32
White	46	.. 50	Peas, Hog	29	.. 31	Oats, Feed	17	.. 20
Fine	52	.. 58	Maple	32	.. 34	Fine	—	.. 22
Rye	32	.. 36	Boilers	33	.. 38	Poland	21	.. 24
Barley	22	.. 26	Beans, Ticks....	27	.. 29	Potato	21	.. 24
Malting	30	to 33						

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR NOV. 18.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.			DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.		
Wheat	48*s.*	8*d.*	Wheat	50*s.*	0*d.*	Wheat	20*s.*	0*d.*
Barley	27	11	Barley	28	6	Barley	9	0
Oats	17	9	Oats	18	0	Oats	8	0
Rye	32	2	Rye	31	4	Rye	10	6
Beans	31	8	Beans	32	2	Beans	10	6
Peas	33	2	Peas	33	8	Peas	9	6

SEEDS.

Very little variation occurred in prices of any species of seeds. Mustard was difficult of disposal. Carrawayseed could only be sold in retail, and canary was lower. Coriandersced was scarcely inquired for.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Nov. 21.

The butter market presented a dull aspect, and the transactions were of a limited character: for Carlow, 80s. to 90s.; Waterford, 70s. to 80s.; Cork, 78s. to 80s.; Limerick, 73s. to 75s. landed; very little doing on board. Foreign—Friesland, 100s. to 102s.; Kiel, 94s. to 104s. In bacon prices are low, ruling from 36s. to 42s. landed, as in size and quality. Not much doing on board or for forward shipment. Bale and tierce middles in moderate request at 34s. to 40s. Lard dull at 54s. to 60s. Hams a slow sale at from 52s. to 66s. Beef and pork dull.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Nov. 21.

The market is in a dull state, and the quotations remain nominally without alteration. The announcement of the duty has not yet been made; it is called £160,000 to £162,000, and some give it as high as £165,000.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 21.

The beef trade was somewhat brisker than last week, but prices were the same. Mutton was steady, but far from brisk; and the best old Downs did not exceed in value 4s. 4d. per 8lbs. The veal trade was better.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2*s.* 10*d.*	to 4*s.* 4*d.*	Veal	3*s.* 6*d.*	to 4*s.* 4*d.*
Mutton	3 0	.. 4 4	Pork	3 10	.. 4 8

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	390	3,050	212	483
Monday	3,317	24,920	125	367

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Nov. 21.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	2*s.* 10*d.*	to 3*s.* 0*d.*	Inferior Mutton	3*s.* 4*d.*	to 3*s.* 6*d.*
Middling ditto	3 0	.. 3 2	Middling ditto	3 8	.. 3 10
Prime large ditto	3 2	.. 3 4	Prime ditto	4 0	.. 4 2
Prime small ditto	3 6	.. 3 8	Veal	3 6	.. 4 0
Large Pork	3 8	.. 4 0	Small Pork	4 2	.. 4 6

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Nov. 21.

The supply during the past week has been liberal, amounting to 3325 tons: viz., from Yorkshire, 1040 tons; Scotland, 970; Devons, 385; Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, 240; Wisbeach, 250; Jersey and Guernsey, 440.

COTTON, LIVERPOOL.

The trade continued to purchase with freedom in the early part of the week; and although the quantity offering prevented any advance, the market was steady.

WOOL, Nov. 21.

The transactions during the present week have been very small, and confined chiefly to the lower qualities of deep grown combing fleeces and sorts. The finer kinds of combing wools are extremely dull sale. Prices nominally the same as last week.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Nov. 19.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	65*s.*	to 75*s.*	New Clover Hay	85*s.*	to 110*s.*
New ditto	—	.. —	Old ditto	—	.. —
Useful old ditto	80	.. 84	Oat Straw	36	.. 38
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	85	.. 90	Wheat Straw	38	.. 40

COAL EXCHANGE, Nov. 21.

Stewart's, 21s. 9d.; Hetton's, 21s. 3d.; B. Hetton's, 21s. 6d.; Lambton's, 21s. 6d.; Hugh Hall, 21s. 3d. Ships arrived this week, 230.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, Nov. 22.

TEA.—The news from China has caused the market to become very uncertain, and few parties are disposed to do business. Quotations are nominally 1d. to 1½d. per lb. lower. The public sales have been postponed till Monday next.

COFFEE.—Mocha has been in fair demand at the former currency, but other kinds of coffee have been little asked for. The operations privately are extremely limited; some parties were disposed to sell owing to the sudden panic which has seized the tea market, and accepted 61s. 6d. to 62s. for good ordinary Ceylon.

SUGAR.—Importers have submitted to a reduction on former rates of 6d. for yellow, and 1s. per cwt. for brown descriptions; still buyers have purchased with much caution, and the markets have presented a very dull appearance. This afternoon a public sale of 126 hhds. 10 tierces Barbadoes sugar went off at full rates, and all sold, fine yellow at 67s. 6d. to 68s., good 66s. to 67s., middling 63s. 6d. to 65s. 6d., and low 60s. 6d. to 62s. 6d. per cwt.

TALLOW.—P. Y. C. is steadier at 48s. 3d. to 48s. 6d. per cwt. on the spot. Town is 51s. 6d. per cwt.

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